

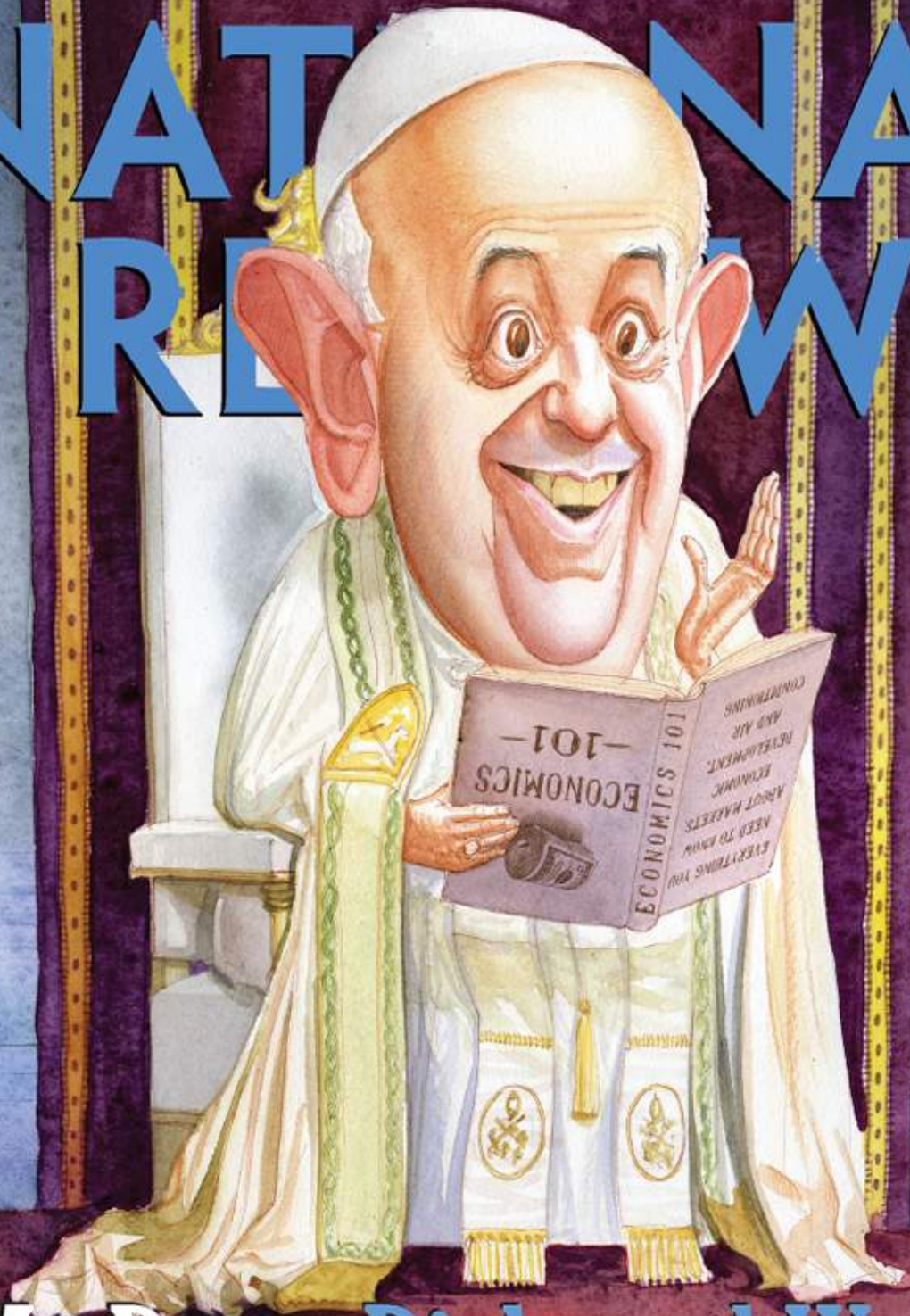
**JAMES ROSEN: WFB vs. Vidal**

**COOKE** on Donald Trump

**JOHN R. BOLTON: PLAN B ON IRAN**

**PRYCE-JONES** on  
Robert Conquest

# NATIONAL REVIEW



## My Pope, Right and Wrong

**RAMESH PONNURU**



Tap for  
Contents  
and App  
Info



# DO YOUR INVESTMENTS



## FIT YOUR MORAL BELIEFS?

Many people don't realize the companies they're invested in might be violating their strong moral beliefs. Thankfully, investors don't have to compromise their values. Ave Maria Mutual Funds take a pro-life, pro-family approach to investing, with a proprietary screening process that examines corporate compliance with Catholic teachings regarding abortion, pornography and policies that undermine the sacrament of marriage. Investments are made only in companies that do not violate core teachings of the Catholic Church as set by the Funds' Catholic Advisory Board.



### Smart Investing and Catholic Values

For more information call **1-866-AVE-MARIA** (1-866-283-6274) or visit [avemariafunds.com](http://avemariafunds.com)

Request a prospectus, which includes investment objectives, risks, fees, expenses and other information that you should read and consider carefully before investing. The prospectus can be obtained by calling 1-866-283-6274 or it can be viewed at [www.avemariafunds.com](http://www.avemariafunds.com). Distributed by Ultimus Fund Distributors, LLC.

## ARTICLES

- ▷ Candidate Narcissus *by Charles C. W. Cooke*
- ▷ Trump, by the Numbers *by Henry Olsen*
- ▷ Rick Perry's Travails *by Erica Grieder*
- ▷ Bernie and Black Lives *by Kevin D. Williamson*
- ▷ The Truth-Teller *by David Pryce-Jones*

## FEATURES

- ▷ Puzzling Out Pope Francis *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
- ▷ Facing Reality on Iran *by John R. Bolton*
- ▷ Ready Always to Give an Answer *by David French*

## BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

- ▷ The Long, Hot Summer of '68  
*James Rosen discusses the film Best of Enemies.*
- ▷ Found Wanting  
*John Hillen reviews Strategic Failure, by Mark Moyer.*
- ▷ Rewriting Beethoven  
*Jay Nordlinger discusses the Salzburg Festival's production of Fidelio.*
- ▷ Film: Cruising Speed  
*Ross Douthat reviews Mission: Impossible—Rogue Nation.*

## SECTIONS

- ▷ Letters to the Editor
- ▷ The Week
- ▷ Athwart . . . *James Lileks*
- ▷ The Long View . . . *Rob Long*
- ▷ Poetry . . . *Daniel Mark Epstein*
- ▷ Happy Warrior . . . *David Harsanyi*

## USING THE NR APP

**JUMP** to articles and sections by tapping titles (▷) on this contents page, or by activating the carousel:



**SCROLL** through an issue by swiping left–right or by tapping the gray navigation bars in the margins:



Read the **TEXT VERSION** of an article either by tapping once on the body text or by tapping this icon:



**ZOOM** in or out on any page by tapping the screen twice.



Return to the **CONTENTS** page by tapping this icon:



Go to the app's **HOME SCREEN** by tapping this icon:





## Is Puerto Rico Back from the Brink?

Writing in the Week (July 20), NATIONAL REVIEW's editors incorrectly characterize Puerto Rico governor Alejandro Garcia Padilla. Their unfair portrayal of his efforts to revitalize Puerto Rico's economy is a disservice to the seriousness with which his administration has addressed Puerto Rico's fiscal crisis. NATIONAL REVIEW should instead recognize the governor as a job creator and fiscal reformer.

In the past few weeks, the U.S. Department of the Treasury and the Congressional Research Service hailed the governor's willingness to undertake necessary cost-cutting measures in a difficult environment. These actions, and the comments of support, speak to Governor Garcia Padilla's true record.

The facts show that Puerto Rico's economy is moving in the right direction. Governor Garcia Padilla has enacted tough spending cuts and achieved impressive results. The general-fund budget deficit, which stood at \$2.2 billion in 2012, has been cut to \$550 million. Governor Garcia Padilla signed the Fiscal Sustainability Act in 2014, generating nearly \$1.4 billion in savings. Additionally, he fought for comprehensive pension-reform legislation, which has also been passed. All of this has led to the first balanced budget in more than a decade.

Juan E. Hernandez

Director, Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration

THE EDITORS RESPOND: Under Governor Garcia Padilla's leadership, Puerto Rico continued, and continues, to add to its debt rather than reduce it. Yes, a \$550 million deficit is preferable to a \$2.2 billion deficit, but, in Puerto Rico's situation, that's like saying that a gunshot wound to the abdomen is preferable to a head shot. The governor has flinched on necessary budget cuts, restoring some \$166 million in University of Puerto Rico funding after student protests. Yes, pension-reform legislation was passed—and the governor promptly sabotaged it, shorting it by nearly \$100 million to make up for the fact that tax collections are weak even as rates rise. And that trend continues: The island's sales tax just rose from 7 percent to 11.5 percent. Governor Garcia Padilla's big idea was—no surprise—a 16 percent VAT, which lawmakers have thus far had the good sense to decline enacting. Increasing the tariff on oil imports, from \$9.25 a barrel to \$15.50, is madness, as was the governor's pursuit of an unserious debt-restructuring program that, in attempting to preempt federal bankruptcy law, was patently unconstitutional, as has been twice confirmed now by federal courts. Governor Garcia Padilla's response to all this suggests very strongly that he does not understand that Puerto Rico's fiscal crisis is only incidental; its real problem is an economic crisis. Puerto Rico has the lowest work-force-participation rate in the Americas and a tax-and-regulatory burden that has stifled almost all economic growth for 20 years. The governor has not lifted a pinky to address that fundamental problem and in fact opposes measures such as exempting Puerto Rico from the minimum wage, which National Bureau of Economic Research and Harvard scholars estimate has added 8 to 10 percent to its unemployment. There is no world in which that adds up to "impressive results."



# Many were minted... so few remain

## The 1878 U.S. Morgan Proof



Shown larger than actual size of 38.1 mm in diameter

Your proof arrives secured in a crystal-clear holder.

[www.bradfordexchange.com/morganproofs](http://www.bradfordexchange.com/morganproofs)

### Treasured Morgans Return in Stunning Proof Quality

Few coins hold the allure of the Morgan Silver Dollar, especially the elusive Morgan Proofs. Millions were minted between 1878 and 1904, and once more in 1921, yet very few were ever struck in proof condition. Today, only 17% of Morgan Silver Dollars still survive, so proof-quality Morgans are truly rare—and out of reach for most collectors. Now *The 1878 U.S. Morgan Proof* from The Bradford Exchange Mint makes it easy — and affordable — to claim your own copy, meticulously crafted in stunning numismatic proof quality.

### Backed by Our Best-in-the-Business Guarantee.

Order now, at the attractive issue price of \$39.95\* per edition. With your purchase you will be enrolled in *The Complete U.S. Morgan Proof Collection*. Send no money now. Just return the Priority Reservation Certificate. You'll receive and pay for one Morgan Proof design about every other month, backed by our 365-day guarantee. Plus, you'll get a deluxe display case, FREE! You may cancel at any time simply by notifying us. But hurry—this is a limited time offer!

©2015 BGE 17-00213-001-BI

All tributes to original coins contain the word "copy" incised on the reverse side of the coin as mandated by Federal law. All rights reserved.

### PRIORITY RESERVATION CERTIFICATE



9345 Milwaukee Avenue · Niles, IL 60714-1393

**YES.** Please reserve *The 1878 U.S. Morgan Proof* for me as described.

**For Fastest Service Call Us Toll-Free: 1-800-323-8105**

☐ I prefer to pay by credit card. Please charge my:  
☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Amex

Card #: \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Enclosed is my check for \$47.95 payable to The Bradford Exchange Mint

Mrs. Mr. Ms. \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**910503-E10721**

\*Plus \$7.99 shipping and service. Please allow 4-8 weeks for shipment. Sales subject to product availability and order acceptance.

## Text

SEPTEMBER 7, 2015



# YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

★ ★ ★ P R E S E N T S ★ ★ ★

## THE SHARON STATEMENT REVISITED:

PASSING THE TORCH

SEPTEMBER 11 AND 12, 2015

YAF'S HEADQUARTERS // RESTON, VIRGINIA

The "central manifesto" of the Conservative Movement – *The New York Times*

"Long considered a declaration of principles of modern conservatism" – *The Washington Post*

"A seminal document in bringing different kinds of conservatives together" – *The New York Times*



**Young America's Foundation** invites you to join us for The Sharon Statement Revisited: Passing the Torch, a two-day seminar exclusively for young conservative activists that will trace the growth of the modern Conservative Movement—from the drafting of the Sharon Statement, the founding document of Young Americans for Freedom, to the growth of conservatism today.

### At this seminar, you will:

- » Discover the foundations of the Conservative Movement
- » Learn how the Sharon Statement impacts public policy today and how you can apply it to your campus
- » Learn how prominent conservative leaders such as Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, and William F. Buckley implemented the ideas enshrined in the Sharon Statement

Contact the Conference Director at 800-USA-1776 or [jballantyne@yaf.org](mailto:jballantyne@yaf.org) for more information.

THE REAGAN  
RANCH CENTER

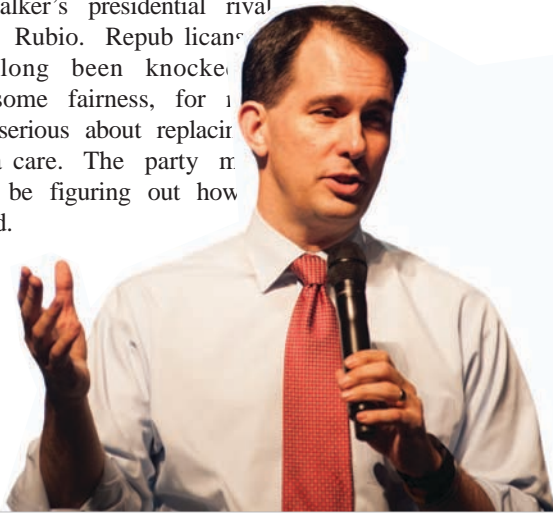
217 State Street  
Santa Barbara, California 93101  
888.USA.1776



11480 Commerce Park Drive  
Sixth Floor · Reston, VA 20191  
800.USA.1776

juana laws; a serious federal effort now would require an increase in the use of body cameras, greater attention to policing practices in general), the wages of Ferguson, one year on, have been used primarily for civil disorder (at its nadir in Baltimore), in-federal law enforcement to arrest and prosecute a few marjuna vendors so as to scare the others. A federal law that nobody wants to enforce is a law that should be called.

■ Walker put forward a solid plan to replace Obamacare. It would restore the states' role as the lead regulators of health insurance. The feds would no longer impose the employer or individual mandates, define "essential benefits," or push people into exchanges. Instead people would get tax credits that would enable them to buy catastrophic coverage if they chose—or more extensive coverage, if they chose to spend extra. Medicaid would be reformed so that states no longer had an incentive to spend more money. The tax break for employer-provided coverage would be capped, so that the most expensive plans would no longer get a bigger subsidy for being the most expensive plans. Health-savings accounts would be expanded. One of the best things about the plan is that it is not original: Walker is drawing on ideas already have broad support among Republicans, including the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Budget Committee—and, for that matter, Walker's presidential rival Marco Rubio. Republicans have long been knocking with some fairness, for not being serious about replacing Obama care. The party is finally be figuring out how to proceed.



■ The shooting of 18-year-old Tyrone Harris in Ferguson, Mo., on August 9, 2015—one year, to the day, after the shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown by white Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson—was grim but apposite. Brown, after robbing a convenience store, refused to heed Wilson's instructions to walk on the sidewalk rather than down the middle of a local street, then attacked the officer in his vehicle, then charged him on a nearby street, where Brown was fatally shot. Harris and two friends were trying to sell a looted flat-screen television; an argument with a prospective buyer escalated into a gunfight, during which Harris proceeded to fire (with a stolen weapon) on a carload of undercover police officers. (Harris was wounded in the chest, but survived.) It is no surprise that members of the Black Lives Matter movement—which propagated the lie of "Hands Up, Don't Shoot!"—refused to acknowledge Harris's wrongdoing, despite the video footage of his drawing a gun. Whatever victories have been achieved (a "demilitarization" of local law enforcement, "shooting

reasoned, dispassionate argument and devoted to eradicating that nebulous, ever-shifting leviathan, "white supremacy." Watching Ferguson burn—again—this August, we find it hard to believe that those so dedicated to racial justice have brought us any closer to achieving it.

■ One place where black lives do not seem to matter is in the abortion industry. Black women are five times likelier than white women to have an abortion. As Ben Carson rightly noted during a recent Fox Business interview, this has much to do with the foundress of the birth-control movement (and Planned Parenthood), Margaret Sanger. While Sanger spent her 50-year birth-control crusade touting "reproductive freedom" and women's "liberation," those goals were inextricable, to her mind, from stopping the "reckless breeding" of the "inferior classes," the "mentally defective," the "poverty-stricken," et al. Thus in 1939, Sanger launched her "Negro Project" to promote birth control among blacks, who, her Birth Control Federation reported, "still breed carelessly and disastrously." The abortion industry, intentionally or not, has carried on Sanger's troubling legacy. As of 2011, abortion and abortion-referral clinics were overwhelmingly located in zip codes with minority populations well above the state average, according to a study by the pro-life organization Life Dynamics. And "when the American family planning industry places multiple facilities in a ZIP code," the study noted, "that ZIP code is more than two-and-a-half times as likely to be disproportionately minority as not." Furthermore, despite increased access to abortion and contraception, studies have shown abortion rates rising among low-income women. Ruth Bader Ginsburg has suggested that there are "populations that we don't want to have too many of." If you want to know which populations she's thinking of, look for the local Planned Parenthood clinic.

■ "Immigration without assimilation is invasion," Governor Bobby Jindal of Louisiana has been repeating on the campaign trail. The line is pure poetry, which W. H. Auden defined as a memorable speech. Note the pattern of accented and unaccented syllables: perfectly symmetrical. The triple rhyme on "assimilation" is ear candy in the service of a strong, principled message. While other Republicans running for president argue, as they should, about the problem of illegal immigration and what to do about it, Jindal is making a unique contribution by insisting that successful immigration policy is about cultural assimilation. Succinctly channeling the Left's error on the relationship between assimilation and diversity, Al Gore once said that *E pluribus unum* means "Out of one, many," getting it exactly backward. Now the Left is chiding Jindal for getting the whole thing right.

■ For 13 years, David Wells, an ordained Christian minister, served as a volunteer chaplain to underage inmates at a juvenile detention center in Warren County, Ky. The state's department of juvenile justice revoked his credentials after he refused to promise that he would comply with a new regulation: Volunteers shall not imply or tell LGBTQI juveniles that they are abnormal,



# Stay in the comfort of your home



## **Reliable. Compact. Made in USA**

Bruno stairlifts restore access, safety and peace of mind to your home or the home of a loved one.

Indoor or Outdoor • Curved or Straight



[bruno.com](http://bruno.com) | 1-844-755-5544



deviant, sinful or that they can or should change their sexual orientation or gender identity,” Christians believe in the unity of entation or gender identity.” No orthodox Christian chaplainbody and soul and oppose physical mutilation, and therefore tend could agree to that wording, because everyone is sinful, including to favor the adjustment of one’s gender identity to match the members of the LGBTQI community. As for changing “sexualphysical fact of one’s sexual identity. Those convictions will

## The Trump Market

**F**INANCIAL-MARKET prices should, according to efficient-market theory, be as good a signal of the underlying value of an asset as anything else. Prices are not perfect, but they cannot be regularly outsmarted. When people are putting their money on the line, they tend to consider their options carefully, so prices don’t move on whims.

As Donald Trump has surged to the top of the polls, economists have also been keeping their eyes on prediction and betting markets. It’s one thing to know what Mr. Zogby thinks, but another thing altogether to see the mind of Mr. Market. This instinct is backed up by a voluminous academic literature. Early work by economists found that prediction markets generated better forecasts of election outcomes than polls did. Some more recent work has found that polls can sometimes do as well, which confirms the view that market prices are as good as it gets even if they are not perfect.

Mr. Trump currently leads the polls for the GOP nomination. And yet Trump’s field sits silent and fallow on the GOP landscape, according to political-futures markets.

The failure of prediction markets to price in the “Trump surge” raises the question whether his rise in the polls is merely a bubble, poised to burst and fade as quickly as it formed and expanded. On the other hand, Trump supporters could argue that the futures markets are simply underpricing their candidate’s prospects. Asking the question now on the minds of many, the *Washington Post* recently ran a column titled “Will the Donald Trump Bubble Ever Pop?”

If history is any guide, the answer is yes. In the 2012 nomination cycle, a number of candidates surpassed Mitt Romney in the polls, grabbing a lead similar to that experienced by Trump. First, there was the Rick Perry bubble around September 2011 (about as far off from the end of the 2012 nomination process as we are now from the end of the 2016 nomination process). Then came the meteoric rise of Herman Cain in the polls that October. In the wake of the Cain bubble’s bursting, though, by December the polls were in love with Newt Gingrich. In the end, of course, the brain from Bain rose to the top.

Few remember what the prediction markets did during this span. But we compiled historical prediction-market data on the 2012 GOP nomination from Iowa Electronic Markets, an exchange where users can buy political-futures contracts that pay out \$1 or \$0 depending on whether the trader’s bet pans out. It is possible to infer the market’s estimate of how likely an outcome is from the price it puts on the associated contract. For instance, if a “Mitt Romney wins the GOP nomination” contract is trading for \$0.60, one can infer that futures markets are pricing in a 60 percent probability of a Romney victory. We also

compiled polling data on the candidates from RealClearPolitics, which aggregates polls, and used the data to calculate monthly averages.

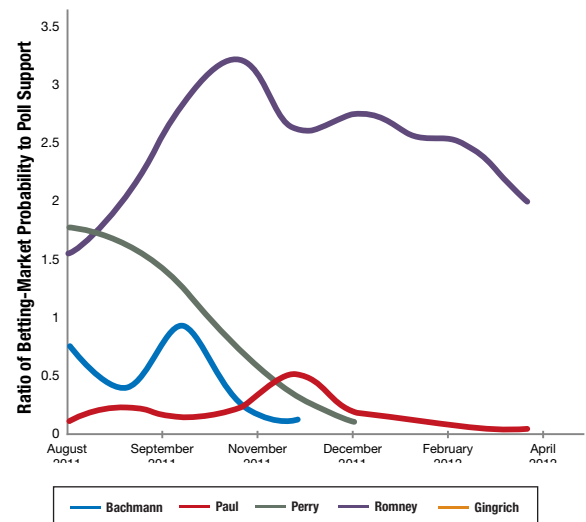
Looking at the period from August 2011 to April 2012, we divided the market’s estimate of a candidate’s likelihood of winning the nomination (using data from Iowa Electronic Markets) by his performance in the polls. The chart below shows this ratio of betting odds to voter support for every month for which data are available. (Certain candidates have only limited samples of this metric. And we have only one point for Cain, since his surge was very brief and the futures market barely noticed. He is accordingly omitted from the chart.)

As one can see from the rapid gyrations in this ratio for many of the candidates, polling data and futures markets do not always march in tandem; many a false hope would have been avoided if people had interpreted the prediction market as the signal and the poll as the noise.

Though many are quick to lament the fickle character of financial markets, they saw through all the faddish surges. As the broader literature suggests, the prediction market was the best guide to the future during this uncertain span. For Donald Trump, who is at 22 percent in an average of the August polls compiled by RealClearPolitics but hovers around 9 percent in the futures market according to betting-market aggregator PredictWise, this is not a good sign.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

### The 2012 GOP Nomination: Betting-Market Money vs. Voter Mouths





# CAPTURE THE WILD WEST

## MORGAN SILVER DOLLARS

### The Most Widely Collected U.S. Silver Coin

Minted from 1878-1921, Morgan Silver Dollars were a mainstay of 19th and early 20th century commerce. The Morgan Silver Dollars in this special release are over 100 years old, in very good or better condition and contain over 3/4 of ounce of pure silver. Perfect for individuals wanting to add historic U.S. silver coins to their collection. For the discerning collector, a limited amount of Brilliant Uncirculated Morgan Silver Dollars will be made available at a special introductory price.



# \$26.95

ea

NO DEALERS PLEASE

VERY GOOD CIRCULATED CONDITION  
DATES OF OUR CHOICE 1878-1904

### 15 DAY MONEY BACK GUARANTEE!

100% satisfaction guaranteed, if for any reason you are not happy with your purchase then return it up to 15 days after receipt of order for a prompt refund.

Metal Content: ----- 0.7734 troy oz  
Purity: ----- .900  
Manufacturer: ----- United States Mint  
Thickness: ----- 3.1 mm  
Diameter: ----- 38.1 mm



**COIN SPECIALISTS  
STANDING BY 24/7**  
[www.Aerloms.com](http://www.Aerloms.com)

Coins shown are not actual size. Limit 20 silver coins per household. Price plus shipping. No sales tax on gold and silver purchases. Prices subject to change without notice. Availability not guaranteed. New customers only. No dealers please. American Eagle Reserve is not affiliated with the U.S. Government.

VAULT CODE: **NRM5D-0815**

(2646)  
**1-877-227-COIN**

CHECK OR MONEY ORDER





inform a minister's response when tending to inmates, particular documents, the IRS nails them. When nobodies run guns to larily those who already share them. Kentucky has imposed on its the drug cartels, the ATF is on the case. When a private company chaplains what amounts to a religious test. If the intent behind it is an "ecological catastrophe" in the Gulf, the EPA levies a regulation is to ensure that inmates will be treated with respect. \$13.7 billion fine. When government does these things and adds a regardless of their sexual orientation, the lawmakers should be serving of cover-ups and lies? "Mistakes were made." rewrite it and just say that—and just that.

■ The Supreme Court, in *Shelby County v. Holder*, held that the Voting Rights Act's "preclearance" protocol—which creates a list of guilty-until-proven-innocent jurisdictions that must obtain federal permission every time they so much as move a polling place—is unconstitutional, because the data used to sift out suspect jurisdictions is of 1975 vintage and therefore bears little resemblance to current conditions. The act's very robust protection against discriminatory electoral practices remain in place; the only thing that has changed is that complaints against the former preclearance jurisdictions (mainly in the South, but also in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx) will have to be proved in court like any other legal challenges. The Democrats very much want to keep electoral practices in Texas and Virginia under direct federal discipline as a way to head off voter-ID laws and other anti-fraud measures they find both offensive and inconvenient. The Voting Rights Act is fine as it is.

■ The Democrats like to describe themselves as the "party of science"—but the dismal one remains an eternal stepchild. Consider Hillary Clinton's predictably over-egged student-debt agenda, which adamantly refuses to address the reality that subsidies, whatever their stated intent, drive up prices rather than lower them. Never mind that a substantial body of research, including a recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, found that federal subsidies (mainly in the form of discounted loans) are an important driver of the mind-bending rise in college costs. Mrs. Clinton has an answer: More subsidies and, add bonus, more regulations, which would treat colleges roughly the way Obamacare treats insurance companies. That's what happens when you're trying to pay off both sides of a transaction with a third party's money. Mrs. Clinton proposes retroactive lowering already discounted interest rates even further for some graduates, which would be simply a large wealth transfer to a group that already has above-average incomes. Colleges will be financially rewarded if they offer "no-loan" tuition rates—confirmed as such by Washington, of what four-year colleges and two years of "free" (presumably by the professors) community college. I.e., we will be paying colleges more to charge less. Swelling administrative budgets—the campus waterpark at Texas Tech—suggest that colleges will find creative ways to absorb whatever money is thrown their way, which suggests one obvious reform: Stop doing that.

■ The—ahem—Environmental Protection Agency managed to set a new standard for governmental incompetence when it accidentally released millions of gallons of toxic sludge from abandoned Gold King Mine into the Animas River in southwestern Colorado. The wastewater plume quickly flowed downstream into New Mexico and Utah—along with its massive concentrations of arsenic and lead and other heavy metals, turning it a bright shade of orange. "Imagine what would happen if a pig were a company caused this waste spill," says New Mexico governor Susana Martinez. When little people mishandle important financial

■ Decades of leaving the seriously mentally ill in our prisons and on the streets seem, finally, to have pricked the conscience of Congress. Several bills currently under consideration would move list of guilty-until-proven-innocent jurisdictions that must obtain public dollars toward treating serious mental illness (schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, etc.) and away from trying to diagnose and place—is unconstitutional, because the data used to sift out suspect jurisdictions is of 1975 vintage and therefore bears little resemblance to current conditions. The best bill, from Representative Tim Murphy (R., Pa.), a psychologist, would change federal privacy law to give family members of the seriously mentally ill access to crucial patient information; use federal mental-health grants to encourage the use of assisted outpatient treatment; reassess whether Medicaid should fund long-term hospitalization for mentally ill; and reform the bloated federal mental-health bureaucracy. A companion Senate bill, introduced by Chris Murphy (D., Conn.) and Bill Cassidy (R., La.), includes weaker versions of many of the same reforms. A still-narrower effort is on offer from Senators Lamar Alexander (R., Tenn.) and Patty Murray (D., Wash.). And Senator John Cornyn (R., Texas) has a sound bill that would boost evidence-based treatment and improve the coverage of mental-health history in the national

■ Josh Hawley is a conservative intellectual and lawyer who has written for this magazine and defended religious freedom in court. One of his clients was Hobby Lobby, which won an important victory for that cause against the Obama administration in the Supreme Court. Now Hawley is running for attorney general of Missouri. His opponent, Kurt Schaefer, has been a liberal Republican state senator. When the Republican legislature sent the Democratic governor a conscience-protection bill,



Presenting the **National Review** Wine Club



## Four Exceptional Wines for Just \$30

**Save \$93**

By joining the **National Review** Wine Club you're proving your support which affords us the continuing means to provide you with **National Review's** distinctly conservative and always exceptional news and commentary. There's no commitment – you can accept, decline, change wines or delay delivery. All future packs come with tasting notes, recipes and a guarantee of satisfaction.

Get Four  
Exceptional  
Wines for  
Just \$30

1¢ Shipping  
- Save \$93!



6-piece Cellar  
Master Wine Tote  
with your third wine  
club shipment  
\$37.95 value

[www.nationalreviewwineclub.com/sip](http://www.nationalreviewwineclub.com/sip)  
or Call: **800-978-5482** and mention code: nrwcsp to receive this special offer  
from 8:00am-5:00pm PST, Monday - Friday

**NATIONAL  
REVIEW**  
WINE CLUB



he was the only Republican senator to vote against it and back the veto. His record on tort reform is dismal: Earlier this year he led a filibuster against a bill that would merely have brought the state's rules for expert testimony into line with standard practices. Schaefer, as the senate appropriations-committee chairman, will be well-funded. For conservatives, though, Hawley should be an easy choice.

■ The opening of an Associated Press report said a great deal: “Cuban dissidents, so long the center of U.S. policy toward the island, won’t be invited to Secretary of State John Kerry’s historic flag-raising at the U.S. Embassy in Havana on Friday, vividly illustrating how U.S. policy is shifting focus to its single-party government.” Before the ceremony, approximately 100 Cubans were arrested, some of them badly beaten. They had been protesting America’s new warmth toward the dictatorship that rules them. At the ceremony, Kerry said, “Our leaders—President Obama and President Castro—made a courageous decision to stop being the prisoners of history and to focus on the opportunities of today and tomorrow.” After the flag-raising ceremony, Kerry did meet with some leading dissidents, privately. Less than two days after that, 200 dissidents were arrested (and state security performed the usual beatings). Many of these dissidents had been protesting the imprisonment of three of their number—who were arrested after, not before, Obama normalized relations with the dictatorship. They are prisoners not of history but of the Castros.

■ Yazidis follow an ancient religion, gnostic and syncretic. Unfortunately for them, their homeland in northern Iraq has been taken over by ISIS, which has treated them to a campaign of rape. A harrowing story in the *New York Times*, based on ISIS’s boasts and the testimony of victims, describes sex slavery as a religious perk of the conquerors and a lure for recruits. A twelve-year-old survivor quoted her brutalizer: “He said that by raping me he is drawing closer to God.” Have Muslim scholars and clerics in the West, or in relatively moderate countries such as Egypt and Turkey, condemned this? Is there no way to devise a psy-war campaign to shame or disgust those who are drawn to such perversions? Can our Special Forces kill more members of ISIS? In the meantime, religions and philosophies struggle in vain with man’s dark heart.

■ Kean University is a state-funded institution in New Jersey. It has a satellite in China, in partnership with a Chinese university.

Wenzhou-Kean University is hiring now—and in its advertisements saying, “Membership in the Chinese Communist Party is preferred.” Of course it is. And that is a neat illustration of what’s wrong with these U.S.–Chinese partnerships.

■ Funny thing about Asian economic supermen: They always find their kryptonite. In the 1980s, we were informed that the unstoppable Japanese, now fading, soon would run the world, and now the Chinese, who have dominated our imagination for years, are desperately trying to sort the beef from the phony baloney in their oddball economy. China has made the characteristic mistake of state-dominated economic systems, pouring untold amounts of money into empty housing developments and propping up factories and market segments that are not viable. The predictable results: non-performing debt on a scale that threatens their weak financial system, slower growth, rising unemployment—a politically destabilizing force in China—and imploding markets across the construction and building-supply sectors, which had been sustaining much of China’s growth. Beijing has responded by devaluing the renminbi—China’s version of a Fed intervention—with the hope that it can export its troubles away. But devaluation is a limited tool for a country that imports not only a great deal of its food but also many of the components necessary to the goods it exports, everything from crude oil to LCD screens. Instability in China is in no one’s interests, economic or otherwise, and the United States, still economically anemic after what has passed for a recovery, remains especially vulnerable to global shocks. We cannot set Beijing’s house in order, and we are worse off for having spent these years spurning so many opportunities to fortify our own position.

■ All dictators and thugs have their supporters and apologists in free countries, and Hugo Chávez was no exception. When he died, American “liberals,” in the *Washington Post*, on MSNBC, and elsewhere, mourned him. They said he stood for “equality” and “social justice.” Today, we have reports that one of his daughters is the richest woman in Venezuela—a multi-billionaire. Meanwhile, ordinary Venezuelans are in desperate shape. Is this the vision of social justice that *chavistas*, wherever they may live, have in mind?

■ A small but growing pack of bloodthirsty wolves in rural northern Sweden threatens to disrupt that nation’s famed social cohesion. The predatory beasts attack farmers’ livestock, reduce the supply of game for hunters (sometimes attacking their dogs as well), and make residents fear for their children’s lives; yet EU regulations protect the wolves, and Brussels is threatening reprisals against Sweden after it allowed a few dozen to be culled. What makes the situation particularly vexing is that wolves are not native to the area; a few have trickled in from Finland and Russia over the years, and the colony they started now numbers more than 400. Their isolation and lack of genetic diversity (all the members trace their ancestry back to the same original five) give them endangered status, which means the locals must erect cumbersome electric fences, install security cameras, and abandon their hunting traditions as wolves brazenly roam the woods, seeming to sense their impunity. It just goes to show what happens when you lack an effective enforcement mechanism to deal with illegal immigrants . . .



■ Target Corporation, which operates about 2,000 stores in the United States, has announced that it will no longer identify children's toys by gender. In a tweet that went viral earlier this summer, a mother in Akron, Ohio, criticized the retail chain for identifying "building sets" and "girls' building sets." The logic of social-justice warriors may cause them to see the difference between drinking fountains labeled "white" and "colored," but the difference runs deep where racial difference does not. A version of Princess Elsa's sparkling ice castle, which came in a package with a lot of pink on it, is more likely to be bought by an eight-year-old niece than your eight-year-old nephew, and it is more likely to disappoint or disturb your nephew than your niece. Grouping girls' toys and boys' toys separately was a simple convenience for the adult shopper. That's gone now, in the name of victory for advocates of gender fluidity. What can't be said is the enthusiasm with which boys and girls tend to insist that they're different from each other.



■ Writing in *Newsweek*, leftist writer Rick Perlstein has used the current cultural obsession with flags to re-litigate cultural and political battles over the Vietnam War. Calling the POW/MIA flag "racist" (a claim he later apologized for), he said it was "time to pull it down." Why? Because it "smothers" the "reality" of Vietnam—a reality he claims is dominated by "cal propaganda and American war crimes. While it's not unusual to find a liberal whitewashing the Viet Cong and the NVA, it is unusual to see one do this explicitly." Perlstein's apology for hurting those who "selflessly served their country" is safe to say that the POW/MIA flag is one symbol that's in no real danger of removal.

■ DNA tests of the relevant descendants show that John G. Harding had a love child by Nan Britton, a woman 15 years his junior. Britton made the claim for herself in the 1920s, though her obvious hunger for publicity caused some historians to doubt it. Equally interesting, the tests showed that Harding had a black blood (a stubborn rumor in his youth, used by Democrats in a whispering campaign against him). Harding put a copy of the results in his cabinet, and he died in 1923, a little more than a year into his way through his term. As it was, he rode out his term without taking any steps that might have made his term worse, and he pardoned Socialist Eugene Debs and other political prisoners of the Wilson years. He said America needed a "malcy"—a grotesque word, but a valuable thing, and he did his not-negligible best to provide it.

■ When Peter W. Schramm was a boy, his father said, "We were born Americans, but in the wrong place." That wrong place was Hungary, the scene of Communist oppression in 1956. His family fled to the United States, where Peter became one of the kinds of American—the kind who falls in love with the country the way only an immigrant can. Peter ultimately became a student of Harry V. Jaffa at the Claremont Graduate University in California. While there, he helped found the Claremont Institute and served as its first president. He went on to lead the Ashland Center at Ashland University in Ohio, where he influenced a generation of students he knew personally and, by way of the center's programs for high-school instructors, even more whom he never met. He devoted his life to teaching Americans about

and displayed a special talent for criticizing those who loved their country insufficiently or unwisely. A eulogy honoring him in July, as death drew near, he called himself the happiest man alive. Dead at 68. R.I.P.

■ Mary L. Ball was one of the conservative movement's great innovators. In 1999, she recognized that philanthropists needed a new allegory for gift-giving—one that both channeled financial power to liberty-loving organizations and protected donor intent from the political left. So she co-founded DonorsTrust and led it for the next 16 years. In that time, DonorsTrust gave away nearly \$750 million to groups that promoted limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise. To her friends and allies, she was the quintessential happy warrior, who brought an infectious enthusiasm to her freedom-fighting work as well as to her life. She was diagnosed with cancer. Behind it all lay her deep faith, and the conviction that death is not an end but a beginning. Dead at 52.

■ Julian Bond, born in 1940, was perhaps the last of a type: a young black bourgeoisie in an era of segregation. Bond's grandfather was a minister, his father was president of Lincoln University. Bond himself went to Morehouse College. But he was not content. In 1961 he joined the civil-rights movement, first in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). He resisted temptations—he quit SNCC when it was taken over by black-power radicals—but succumbed to others: He helped found the Southern Poverty Law Center, which has long been a machine for raising money using ideological scare stories (it branded the Family Research Council a hate group). Bond was a civil-rights movement member. The civil-rights movement, of which he was a part, having killed Jim Crow, could have declared victory and addressed black social pathologies, or descended to the level of politics and politicking. It, and he, chose the third option: to stay the course. Dead at 75. R.I.P.

## The Early Rounds

Donald Trump has sat atop the Republican polls for several weeks. He has provided some entertainment, some boorishness, and one big idea: getting control of immigration. The boorishness is no mere stylistic failing. Some ob-

servers, and not only Trump supporters, thought the moderator questioned him too harshly during the Fox News presidential debate; but nothing said here justified, or could justify, Trump's post-debate remark that Megyn Kelly is a "bimbo." That's a moral failure on Trump's part, as is his unwillingness to apologize—to say nothing of other remarks about her that he has made.

It's also true, though, that no other major candidate has spoken up for lowering immigration levels or building a wall on our southern border. Both of those are reasonable ideas on which most Republican voters agree. (More on that below.) Look past both the ideas and the outrages, though, and the handicapper runs up against this brute fact: Trump has never been elected to anything, and parties do not nominate presidents who haven't. The last exception was Dwight Eisenhower, and telling people they're fired on reality shows isn't exactly winning World War II.

Trump is a serious threat to some of the other candidates, especially the second-tier ones whom he is squeezing out. Other Republicans, even if they fear he would be a terrible nominee, need not panic. They should, indeed, take comfort in his strength in the polls: His consistent fifth of the vote is enough to make him stay in the Republican primaries, where he is likely to lose fairly

and square, rather than leave early to enjoy making third-party mischief. The longer he stays in the primaries, the less of a third-party threat he will be.

The other candidates did well in that first debate, even if none of them were as dramatically interesting as Trump. Marco Rubio and Carly Fiorina, in particular, shone. A media boomlet for John Kasich seems to be under way. The press's liberalism appears to be distorting its judgment of a candidate who advertises how little he cares about same-sex marriage and how enthusiastic he is about expanding Medicaid. But he could nonetheless have a real impact: There are plenty of liberal Republicans, and nobody else is trying as hard to win their votes.

The polls show that few Republican voters are committed to particular candidates. They have not yet decided which of these candidates would make the best opponent for Hillary Clinton and then the best president. They are giving several of them a hearing. That's the right attitude to take in a wide-open race with a talented field.

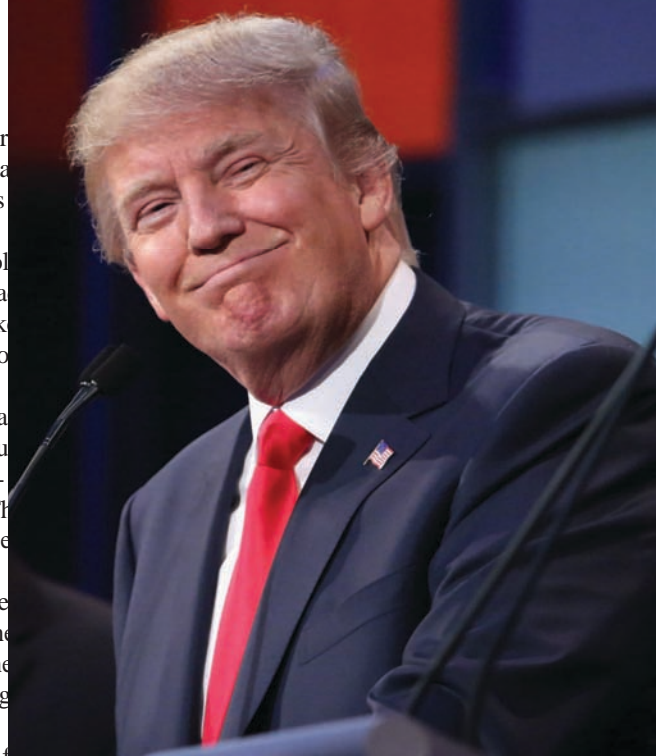
## IMMIGRATION

### The Trump Plan

TRUMP'S immigration hawkishness has until now consisted of bravado rather than substance. His newly released immigration platform, although flawed, is a marked improvement: It is sensible in its basic outline and better in many respects than the ideas presented by his rivals.

Trump's "three core principles"—that a nation should control its border, enforce its immigration laws, and put its own workers first—should be the starting point of any reasonable immigration policy. Likewise, several of the policies that follow should be widely adopted: increasing the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers, encouraging greater cooperation between ICE and local law-enforcement task forces, implementing E-Verify nationwide, deporting criminal aliens, ending catch-and-release policies, defunding sanctuary cities, and increasing penalties for visa overstays.

All that said, the rest of the Republican field would do well to take up Trump's principles and supplement them with a fuller range of sensible policies. The best of Trump's enforcement proposals should be the lowest common denominator in the GOP, and to them can be added better proposals for barriers at the border and for illegal aliens in the country—all to be articulated with the seriousness that Trump too often lacks. Immigration is too important to be left to the Donald.



The plan doesn't address what to do with illegal immigrants already here, which is defensible because enforcement should be the first priority. Alas, Trump continues to talk up his intention to deport, then re-import, current illegal immigrants—a device that is more costly, time-consuming, and logistically fraught than any currently on the table. Additionally, Trump's stated intention to avoid separating families by sending American-born children away with their parents is obviously illegal; the United States government has no authority to deport American citizens.

Trump's written plan also includes his famous, but absurd, pledge to make Mexico pay for our border wall. America's border is America's responsibility. One of Trump's ideas for funding the structure is to "impose all remittance payments derived from illegal wages," an impossibility. On legal immigration, Trump's plan sketches out an immigration "pause" with reduced immigration levels that resemble "more moderate historical averages." That would be welcome, but he offers no details about how to achieve this. Likewise, Trump's desire to end abuse of the H-1B visa program, which enables IT employers to lay off American workers and import foreign workers to perform the same jobs at significantly lower cost, is laudable, but his proposal—simply to increase the "prevailing wage"—is likely just to invite more meddling from the same lawyers and bureaucrats who already exercise outsized importance in H-1B decisions.

Trump's proposal to end birthright citizenship is sure to be the most controversial element of the plan, but it is also sure to be a nonstarter. Birthright citizenship is abused, but ending it would be a Herculean task politically, and the Supreme Court is unlikely to be cooperative. All that said, the rest of the Republican field would do well to take up Trump's principles and supplement them with a fuller range of sensible policies. The best of Trump's enforcement proposals should be the lowest common denominator in the GOP, and to them can be added better proposals for barriers at the border and for illegal aliens in the country—all to be articulated with the seriousness that Trump too often lacks. Immigration is too important to be left to the Donald.



Perfect Choice HD™ is simple to use, hard to see and easy to afford...

# Invention of the Year

PERSONAL SOUND AMPLIFICATION PRODUCTS (PSAPs)



**New and Improved!**  
With even more  
clarity and  
volume!

## THEY'RE NOT HEARING AIDS

Personal Sound Amplification Products use advanced digital processing to amplify the frequencies of human speech. Thanks to the efforts of a doctor who leads a renowned hearing institute, this product is manufactured in an efficient production process that enables us to make it available at an affordable price.

The unit is small and lightweight enough to hide behind your ear... only you'll know you have it on. It's comfortable and won't make you feel like you have something stuck in your ear. It provides high quality audio so soft sounds and distant conversations will be easier to understand.

Need an extra volume boost? Try Perfect Choice HD™ for yourself with our exclusive home trial.



**Call now toll free for  
our lowest price.**

**1-888-383-2804**

Please mention promotional code 101014.

1998 Ruffin Mill Road,  
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

<b>WEIGHT</b>	Less than 1 ounce
<b>SOUND QUALITY</b>	Excellent: Optimized for speech
<b>FITTING REQUIRED?</b>	No
<b>ONE-ON-ONE SETUP</b>	Free
<b>RETURN POLICY</b>	Full refund of product purchase price within 60 days
<b>COLOR</b>	Silver or Beige





## Candidate Narcissus

*Does Donald Trump believe in anything but himself? Do his supporters care?*

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

WHEN asked by their detractors whether they might if to suggest that an axe to the chest is the best remedy for what ails a man with bronchitis, it is fashionable for supporters of Donald Trump's presidential bid to characterize their charge as an inevitable reaction to the impotence of the Republican party. The GOP, it is proposed, has for almost three decades now failed to effect meaningful conservative reform, and it is therefore time for a change. Trump, they insist, is the best remedy for what ails the GOP is a conservative. We are now approaching the serious part of the primary season, and the man remains a mess of heresies that Trump cops to daily. He is still praising single-payer health care as a worthy idea; still boasting about his cynical use of power to bring it about. Why? Because Trump is in no mean sense a conservative. We are now approaching the serious part of the primary season, and the man remains a mess of heresies that Trump cops to daily. He is still praising single-payer health care as a worthy idea; still boasting about his cynical use of power to bring it about. Why? Because Trump is in no mean sense a conservative. We are now approaching the serious part of the primary season, and the man remains a mess of heresies that Trump cops to daily. He is still praising single-payer health care as a worthy idea; still boasting about his cynical use of power to bring it about.

Insofar as it presumes that dissatisfaction with the established political class has created a vacuum into which still expressing (usually) support for a would-be savior might try to step, the diagnosis is a kernel of truth within this diagnosis. But as a justification for the ascent of Trump per se, it is wholly insufficient. The modern-day Hippocratic Oath features the acquisition of oil seems a legitimate process: Instead of seeking a salesperson as its central tenet a deeply conservative injunction: *Primum, non nocere*, about the Hispanic bloc that he once declared crucial to the GOP's future as if it were a fifth column of the most pernicious kind. And he endlessly flip-flops on crucial questions—sometimes, impressively, within the same interview. In the course of a single discussion with Sean Hannity in August, Trump man-erred the best antidote to them? Not a staggered income tax and a flat tax.

Inexplicably, such heterodoxies and inconsistencies have done nothing to damage his popularity. Whereas in 2008 Mitt Romney was crucified for his expedient conversion to the pro-life cause, Trump's sudden journey from staunch pro-choicer to champion of the unborn is received as a sign of maturity. Whereas Chris Christie's softening on the question of gun control has been rejected as too-late pandering, Trump's vocal support for the sort of measures that drive NRA members into a frenzy has been dismissed as a mere trifle. Whereas Marco Rubio is distrusted for having supported the Gang of Eight's ill-fated "comprehensive" immigration bill in 2013, Trump's prior endorsement of a "path to citizenship" for illegal immigrants is ignored.

This double standard applies uniformly. Trump supporters will happily slam Mitch McConnell for his failure to repeal Obamacare; they will take shots at John Kasich for his decision to expand Medicaid in Ohio; and they will spit out Mitt Romney's name, insisting that it was his role in bringing health-care reform to Massachusetts that kept millions of conservatives away from the voting booth in 2012. But when Donald Trump favorably cites Scotland's crumbling nationalized health-care apparatus, his fans don't care. Had any other Republican candidate pleaded guilty to even 10 percent of the heresies that Trump cops to daily, he would have been laughed off the stage. The Donald? He skates.

Trump's supporters explain away his heterodoxies with two contradictory observations. The first is that his policy positions are in fact irrelevant because "he fights!" This doesn't cut it, for against what, exactly, does the pugilist intend to struggle? Without a clearly defined purpose, assurances of bellibellum are hollow. Alas, Trump's apologetic foreign policy in comparison with which logists have blithely inverted the usual process: Instead of seeking a salesperson to promulgate their carefully considered ideas, they have selected their representative without reference to his passage and then permitted him to define it post hoc.

For Trump's most fervent supporters, conservative principles have been rendered an afterthought, a series of emphatic assurances having taken their place. Forget the details, man; Trump's strong! Sure, he's making it up as he



# 99 Tips to Make Your Retirement More Comfortable

**If You Are Approaching Retirement or Already Retired,  
Call 1-888-828-8897 for Your FREE Copy!**

While it's easy to imagine retirement as a time of relaxation, enjoyment and fun, the fact of the matter is that a successful retirement doesn't just happen. It takes thought, planning and action. To help you get ready for retirement or make your retirement even better, we've assembled 99 retirement tips. Importantly, Ken Fisher has gleaned these tips from Fisher Investments' clients, people who have or are successfully navigating the transition from work to retirement.

## Here's Just a Few of the Things You'll Learn

Determine how much you can take from your investment portfolio without risking running out of money. (Tip #10)

Why, if you are close to retirement or already retired, you'll probably live longer than you think. (Tip #12)

How not to get caught in the inflation trap and the fallacy of most asset-allocation advice. (Tip #13)

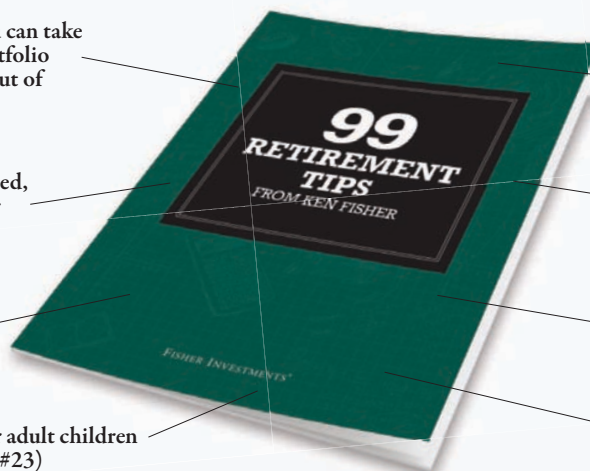
What you should tell your adult children about your finances. (Tip #23)

Why selecting a benchmark, something few people do, can help you maintain and grow your portfolio over time in bull and bear markets. (Tip #19)

Why paying down your mortgage before you retire might not be a good idea. (Tip #26)

Estimate what your taxes are going to be and look for ways to reduce them in retirement. (Tip #40)

Why retirement can be a strain for marriages. (Tip #87)



**And many more financial, lifestyle and health suggestions!**

## Retirement Is More Complicated than Just Money Management

*99 Retirement Tips* will help you better understand the concerns and issues that retired people face. Please claim your copy today, at no cost or obligation, and take a step toward a better retirement.

## About Fisher Investments and Ken Fisher

Fisher Investments is a money management firm serving successful individuals as well as large institutional investors. With over \$65 billion\* in assets under management and with a track record of over 35 years in bull and bear markets, Fisher Investments uses its proprietary research to manage money for people with investable assets over \$500,000.

Ken Fisher, Founder, CEO and Co-Chief Investment Officer, has been *Forbes'* "Portfolio Strategy" columnist for over 30 years and is the author of more than 10 financial books, including 4 *New York Times* bestsellers.

**Call today for your FREE copy!  
Toll-free 1-888-828-8897**

Reference code AN22 when calling.

©2015 Fisher Investments. 5525 NW Fisher Creek Drive, Camas, WA 98607.  
Investments in securities involve the risk of loss.  
Past performance is no guarantee of future returns.  
\*As of 6/30/2015.

**FISHER INVESTMENTS®**  
INVEST ASSURED



goes along; but he'll kick Congress in the status quo. They see the Obama administration's lax attitude toward border make the country great again! And didenforcement—and the media's reluctant anybody mention that he's rich?

If one takes it seriously, the strong-beneath a barrage of euphemism—and man ideal to which Trump aspires is they want someone to listen to their deeply unconservative one. The United States is exceptional in large part effective conduits of this (often right - because the Constitution fragments eous) anger have been Bernie Sanders power and ensures that no one person and Donald Trump.

can garner too much influence or control. If, as seems to be the case, the Trumpites really want a leader who, remedy, for while one can easily make a leaving politics and philosophy aside, case against the immigration status quo, seeks to embody the manly virtues, tone cannot so easily translate that case upend the existing order, and to make into a credible apology for Trump's pre-those dastardly elites pay for their perferred reforms. There is no chance whataspirants, so many have found it hard to fidy, they should consider whose exam-soever that Mexico is going to pay for say why he has risen and to discern ple they want their candidate to emulate 2,000-mile-long wall, and the sugges- whether he has a realistic shot at the nom- Do they hope for Ronald Reagan orion that the United States should tea- ination. The most common explanations Benito Mussolini?

Or perhaps the better comparison is order to force it into doing so is preposenservatives or wooing the same bloc of Roderick Spode, the comical would-be terous and illiberal. There is no chance socio-economically “down scale” voters dictator of P. G. Wodehouse's caustic that the INS will agree to bury that backed Ross Perot in 1992.

imagination, who, from a position of Constitution and deport not only illegal A close look at the data, however, great wealth and social privilege, immigrants but their natural-born-citizen shows that neither explanation is quite spends his days vainly trying to lead children, too, as Trump has suggested accurate. The polls indicate that Trump cabal of half-hearted “black shorts” to it should. And there is no chance in hell support is unusually balanced among power and to glory. All style and nthat Congress will be interested in set the GOP's ideological factions for a can- substance, Spode's recipe for the tor- ting up the unconstitutional police didate this early in the race. While this a tion of British greatness relies upon state that would be necessary to roundsuperficially suggests that his chances mixture of nonsensical appeals to nativeup 11 million illegal immigrants, mon-of winning the nomination are better virtue and a deep-seated hatred of anyitor all financial transfers between thethan commonly thought, an even closer body with the temerity to mock him U.S. and Mexico, and interpose itself look shows that Trump's appeal is likely Spode's speeches are all mock machismo effectively in those areas that attract to be deep but very limited.

and ersatz patriotism: He hopes to pro illicit labor.

hibit the importation of foreign root Moreover, Republicans do not actually much as the media say, because presi- vegetables, to issue all newborn citizens want the government to do any of these dential nominations are not the typical “with a British bicycle and an honest things. In July, the polling firm Gallup one-day primary. In a normal primary, a British-made umbrella,” and to usher in revealed that only 31 percent of regis-candidate can win the nomination with a “the compulsory scientific measure- tered Republicans hoped to send all of small plurality in a multi-candidate field ment of all adult male knees!” Spode America's illegal immigrants home, as simply by getting one more vote than his you see, is suspicious of foreign knees opposed to 68 percent who supported closest rival. That's why Matt Bevin be- and of anyone who sympathizes witheither a path to citizenship or the issuingame Kentucky's Republican nominee them. “Not for the true-born Englishman of temporary work permits for those for governor this year: In a four-way the bony angular knee of the so-called already here. That silent majority to which race, he received 83 votes more than the intellectual, not for him the puffy knee of Trump is allegedly speaking? It's not runner-up, securing victory with only 33 the criminal classes. The British knee is here—at least not for his policies. percent of the vote.

firm, the British knee is muscular, the This shouldn't greatly surprise. There Presidential-nomination contests, by British knee is on the march!” Those fois nothing much there at all. Donald contrast, are a series of one-day votes eign knees? Losers, all of them. Trump is no conservative. He isn't ever held over many months. Since many

The second objection that is leveled principled enough to be confused about candidates drop out after disappointing against Trump's detractors is that he is his principles. He's an entertainer and dossen, a candidate can easily win early in fact popular because of his policies—salesman, and his show rests not upon contests with small pluralities but get at least in one key area: immigration ideas but upon ego and performance art clobbered later on, as voters who would This conceit is a touch more complex ton and resentment and nihilism and a love have supported rivals who dropped out refute than the other, for there is an elf of the limelight that would have made swing toward another candidate.

ment of truth to it. Not only within the Narcissus blush. Pull down the cur- Republican party but across the political tains, Republicans; there's nothing of spectrum, voters are indeed vexed by value here.

# Trump, by The Numbers

*Poll data suggest the candidate will struggle to remain the front-runner*

BY HENRY OLSEN

**D**ONALD TRUMP's meteoric rise has perplexed most pundits. Trump doesn't fit into the traditional categories of GOP

aspirants, so many have found it hard to discern whether he has a realistic shot at the nomination. The most common explanations are that he is either attracting tea-party

conservatives or wooing the same bloc of socio-economically “down scale” voters that backed Ross Perot in 1992.

A close look at the data, however, shows that neither explanation is quite accurate. The polls indicate that Trump's support is unusually balanced among the GOP's ideological factions for a candidate this early in the race. While this superficially suggests that his chances of winning the nomination are better than commonly thought, an even closer look shows that Trump's appeal is likely to be deep but very limited.

Trump's early lead doesn't mean as much as the media say, because presidential nominations are not the typical one-day primary. In a normal primary, a candidate can win the nomination with a small plurality in a multi-candidate field. Trump, however, has won the nomination with a plurality of more than 68 percent of the vote. That's why Matt Bevin, the Republican nominee for governor this year, lost to a Democrat in a four-way race. In a four-way race, he received 83 votes more than the runner-up, securing victory with only 33 percent of the vote.

Presidential-nomination contests, by contrast, are a series of one-day votes held over many months. Since many

a candidate can easily win early in contests with small pluralities but get clobbered later on, as voters who would have supported rivals who dropped out would swing toward another candidate.

Mr. Olsen is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

NR



# Not getting the sleep you need? Is your pillow the problem?

On its 10 year anniversary and with over five million satisfied customers, MyPillow® has been selected the *Official Pillow of the National Sleep Foundation!*

## How Well Did You Sleep Last Night?

Did you toss and turn all night? Did you wake up with a sore neck, head ache, or was your arm asleep? Do you feel like you need a nap even though you slept for eight hours? Just like you, I would wake up in the morning with all of those problems and I couldn't figure out why. Like many people who have trouble getting a good night's sleep, my lack of sleep was affecting the quality of my life. I wanted to do something about my sleep problems, but nothing that I tried worked.

## The Pillow Was the Problem

I bought every pillow on the market that promised to give me a better night's sleep. No matter how many pillows I used, I couldn't find one that worked and finally I decided to invent one myself. I began asking everyone I knew what qualities they'd like to see in their "perfect pillow", and got many responses: "I'd like a pillow that never goes flat", "I'd like my pillow to stay cool" and "I'd like a pillow that adjusts to me regardless of my sleep position." After hearing everyone had the same problems that I did, I spent the next two years of my life inventing MyPillow.



Mike Lindell  
Inventor of MyPillow®

## MyPillow® to the Rescue

Flash forward ten years and MyPillow, Mike Lindell's revolutionary pillow design, has helped 5 million people improve the quality of their sleep. MyPillow has received thousands of testimonials about the relief MyPillow has brought to people who suffered from migraines, snoring, fibromyalgia, neck pain and many other common issues.

Lindell has been featured on numerous talk shows, including *Fox Business News* and *Imus in the Morning*. Lindell and MyPillow have also appeared in feature stories in *The New York Times* and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. MyPillow has received the coveted "Q Star Award" for Product Concept of the Year from QVC, and has been selected as the Official Pillow of the National Sleep Foundation.

MyPillow's patented technology can help with all of the most common causes of sleep loss and allows you to adjust it to any sleeping position. You can even wash and dry MyPillow as easily as your favorite pair of blue jeans!



*"Until I was diagnosed with various sleep issues, I had no idea why my sleep was so interrupted throughout the night. I watch Imus each morning and heard endless testimonials about MyPillow. I took his advice and ordered a MyPillow. Now I wake up rested and ready to conquer the day ahead. Thank you for helping me remember what it's like to sleep like a baby!"*

- Jacqueline H.



## Unprecedented Guarantee and Warranty

I do all of my own manufacturing in my home state of Minnesota and all materials are 100% made in the U.S.A. I'm so confident MyPillow will help you, I'm offering an unprecedented 60-day money back guarantee and a 10-year warranty not to go flat! I truly believe MyPillow is the best pillow in the world and that if everyone had one, they would get better sleep and the world would be a much happier place.

*Michael J. Lindell*

Michael J. Lindell  
CEO, MyPillow, Inc.

**Get the Sleep You've Been Dreaming About**  
Save 50% today when you use promo code: "National4"  
**BUY NOW AT: [mypillow.com](http://mypillow.com) OR call 800.694.2342**



This is what happened to Pat Buchanan in 1996: He won New Hampshire and finished second in Iowa, with about a quarter of the vote in each instance. But as other candidates dropped out, voters swung to Bob Dole, propelling him to easy wins in most subsequent contests. So the key question for Trump is whether he has a chance to build on his early lead—assuming he holds it—in later races as losing candidates drop out.

Virtually all the available poll data show that Trump is drawing his current support from across the center-right ideological spectrum. The six national polls that show how candidates fare among voters with different ideologies find that moderates, “somewhat conser-

that the nominee be able to beat the eventual Democratic candidate. Trump, in contrast, gets 21 percent of those who want the most conservative candidate, and 16 percent of those who want to beat the Democrat.

Trump’s support is also evenly distributed among independents, and among Evangelicals and non-Evangelicals. Polls are mixed on whether he is significantly stronger among tea-party voters, but even surveys that find him with higher support among tea partiers than among all Republican-primary voters show that he has strong support among non-tea partiers as well. Cruz, by contrast, typically does very well among tea partiers and very poorly among non-tea partiers.

voters have a favorable or unfavorable impression of a candidate and whether voters cannot support a candidate under any circumstances. Trump polls much more poorly on these questions than he does on questions of voter preference.

Trump’s favorable-to-unfavorable ratio is the lowest of the major candidates’. His positive rating always ranges between 52 and 44 percent, whether the poll is of national or state voters. His negative rating always ranges between 33 and 46 percent, and is usually in the 38–43 range. Most major Republican candidates are getting positive ratings in the 60s and low 70s, with negative ratings well below 20 percent. Even Jeb Bush has significantly higher positives and lower negatives than Trump. Christie,

## The key question for Trump is whether he has a chance to build on his early lead—assuming he holds it—in later races as losing candidates drop out.

vatives,” and hard-core (“very”) conservative voters support him in roughly equal measures. All polls show Trump’s share of support from each faction within three points of his share of the total. Support from “movement conservatives” is far from the sole—or even the primary—reason for his rise.

The data from Iowa and New Hampshire also present a mixed message. Post-debate Iowa polls show Trump running best among moderates, while pre-debate New Hampshire polls show him running best among tea partiers and the very conservative, two groups whose adherents largely overlap. In neither case, however, does his support tilt so strongly toward one faction that he can be said to be that faction’s candidate.

Compare Trump’s profile with Ted Cruz’s. Many observers have interpreted Cruz’s refusal to criticize Trump as evidence that the two are competing for the same bloc of voters. Cruz’s support tilts heavily toward the most conservative wing of the party. The Public Policy Polling post-debate Iowa poll, for example, shows Cruz supported by 16 percent of voters whose most important criterion for a nominee is that he be the most conservative on the issues. Cruz gets only 4 percent among the larger group whose most important criterion is

Trump often polls better among voters without a college degree (although this difference does not consistently carry over when voters are sorted by income). Voters without a college degree typically back Trump by two to four points more than his overall total; those with a college degree support him by two to four points less. This suggests that Trump’s support is slightly “downscale” in a way reminiscent of Perot’s. But the fact that Trump runs evenly among Republicans and independents, on the other hand, suggests that Trump and Perot are not quite the same: The latter was more popular among independents than among Republicans. The one poll that has asked whom voters would support in the event of a Clinton–Bush–Trump race found that the voters likeliest to back Trump were Republicans and very conservative voters. These voters largely stayed with Bush 41 in 1992, when Perot got 18 percent of the vote.

If these were all the data, we would have to conclude that Trump is currently a strong candidate to win the nomination. But these aren’t all the data, and other information suggests that Trump will have a very hard time building on his current support in later races.

We can see this from two other questions polls often ask—namely, whether

Graham, and Pataki are typically the only candidates thought of less highly than Trump.

Moreover, Trump receives the highest “would never vote for” ratings among the major candidates. A Quinnipiac national poll taken before the debate, for example, found that 30 percent of Republican-primary voters would never support Trump, the highest number among all the candidates. A late-July Fox national poll similarly found that 33 percent of GOP voters would never support Trump in the primary, a share that only Christie, Pataki, and Graham exceeded.

These data are even more troubling for Trump when we dig deeper. Sharp ideological differences are apparent in Trump’s favorable–unfavorable ratios, in contrast with the voter-preference question. His favorable rating exceeds his unfavorable one by roughly a 3–1 margin among tea partiers and a 2–1 margin among “very conservative” voters. “Somewhat conservatives” tend to split evenly, and moderates dislike him by a 55–40 percent margin.

Why is this problematic for Trump? Tea partiers and “very conservative” voters are a large minority, but a minority nonetheless. In primary states, exit polls show that moderates tend to constitute 30–40 percent of the total vote outside



the Deep South, rising to 40–50 percent in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states. “Somewhat conservatives” tend to constitute 33–40 percent of Republican-primary voters in most states. Trump’s poor showing among these groups bodes ill for his ability to win outside the South and in midwestern caucus states once the early primaries have winnowed the candidates.

# Rick Perry’s Travails

*The former Texas governor fights to keep his presidential bid alive*

BY ERICA GRIEDER

These ideological differences are mirrored in the measures of those who say they will never back Trump. In the Quinnipiac poll, only 19 percent of tea partiers said they would never back him. But that number rose to 22 percent among “very conservatives,” 26 percent among Evangelicals, 29 percent among “somewhat conservatives,” and a whopping 39 percent among moderates. Trump’s currently high vote shares among moderates and establishment conservatives, then, may represent a ceiling more than a floor.

There was also a strong gender gap among Trump’s supporters, even before the Megyn Kelly debate dustup. Men typically support Trump by at least three points more than his overall total, while women back him by two to six points less. Men also view Trump much more favorably than do women: Men tend to view him positively by a ten- to 20-point net margin, whereas women either split evenly or view him negatively by up to a ten-point net margin.

We see an even larger gender gap in answers to the “would never vote for” question. Before the debate, about 36 percent of women said they would never vote for Trump, compared with between 25 and 29 percent of men. One can only imagine that women have become more favorable toward Trump since then.

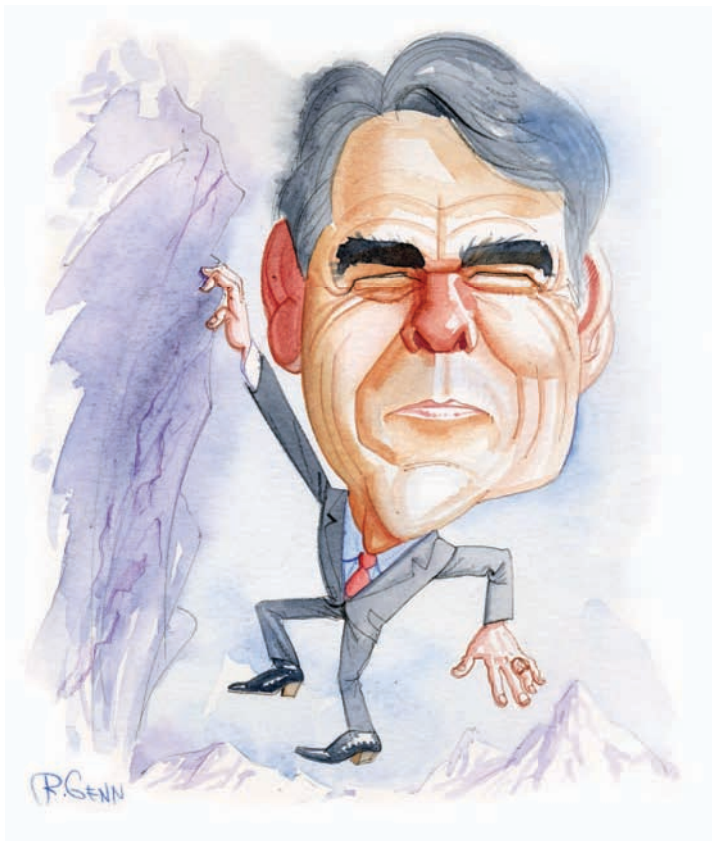
The takeaway is pretty clear. Trump may have more appeal among tea-party and “very conservative” voters than his obvious and compelling credentials. He had been governor of the second-largest state in America for more than a decade, during which time Texas had withstood staggering growth in its economy and population, and diversified left of the GOP to change their minds. Since the Great Recession began, in particular, Texas had stood out, assuming that he is in for the duration. This suggests that an establishment alternative will still have this advantage, passions unleashed by Trump notwithstanding.

CONSIDER the plight of Rick Perry. Ever since the former Texas governor launched his nine-way race. That apparent formidability, however, put him in everyone’s crosshairs. The Texas record stood up to scrutiny. The candidate himself did not. In September, at a debate in Orlando, he scolded those who thought he had been wrong to sign the 2001 Texas “DREAM Act,” which authorized in-state college tuition for undocumented-immigrant students who had graduated from high school in Texas. “I don’t think you have a heart,” he told his critics. More than a month later, having dropped to fourth place, he floundered when trying to remember the third federal department that he would like to eliminate. “Oops,” he shrugged, by way of apology. To the public, that would become the unofficial verdict on his entire campaign. Perry had no one to blame for his disappointing performance but himself. He had clearly failed to prepare for the rigors of a presidential campaign, or to consider the possibility that he might, after his early 60s and recovering from back surgery, be in no shape to wing it. To his credit, he clearly took this view of things. After formally ending the experiment and returning to Austin an object of national derision, Perry threw himself into various efforts at self-improvement. By 2013, overseeing one last biennial legislative session, the man had visibly changed: His cowboy boots had been shelved in favor of orthopedic quasi-sneakers, and he had started wearing glasses with hipsterish plastic frames. Forays into the broader arena soon showed that the smart-guy glasses were not a disguise. In January 2014, debating drug policy in Davos, Switzerland, he explained why he has come to support the decriminalization of marijuana. Later that year, in London, after he had given a robust and well-received speech on foreign policy, a case of Ebola was reported in Dallas. Perry returned immediately to

And Perry’s political record was bound to strike fear in the hearts of his competitors. He was widely acknowledged to be a conservative—acceptable to the religious Right and the then-ascendant tea-party movement. At the same time, Perry could claim enough electability to win the White House: Over more than 25 years in various offices, he had never lost an election.

*Erica Grieder, a senior editor of Texas Monthly, is the author of Big, Hot, Cheap, and Right: What America Can Learn from the Strange Genius of Texas.*

NR



The same, actually, can be said of Perry. Texas Democrats have long dismissed him as a right-wing fire-breather and a lightweight besides, and his affable demeanor did, in fact, often come across as glib or shallow. But his characteristic confidence has a certain appeal when compared with the cerebral caution of his successor, Greg Abbott, or the strategic calculations of the other contender from Texas, Senator Ted Cruz.

Perry is clearly more self-conscious than he was four years ago; rather than defending his sanguine view of illegal immigration, for example, he has emphasized the state's ongoing border-security surge, which began in 2014, after law-enforcement agencies in the Rio Grande Valley reported a dramatic increase in unauthorized immigration from Central America. At the same time, he showed good instincts and genuine leadership when, unlike his competitors, he forthrightly rebuked Donald Trump's lurid claims about America's southern border and the 11 million unauthorized immigrants already in the United States.

Texas, where he oversaw a successful than he was four years ago. He is one of nine current or former governors among Many pundits suspected that he, rather than Trump, was grandstanding. Either serious purpose since announcing that he and any of the others would give halfway, although his favorability ratings would make a second attempt to win their PAC money for Texas's record. The among Republican voters remain high, White House. He has maintained a busy top-line success captured in state-GDP his support has been negligible in the travel schedule, with a particular focus on growth and total employment doesn't polls. This contrast is a reminder that, making inroads in Iowa. Even Perry's fully convey how striking the Lone Star even before his campaign ran out of cash, critics concede that his skill at retail State's economic performance has been. Perry's chances of getting a second hearing are virtually unparalleled, and Virtually all available metrics show that ing were doubtful. He has eight or nine in-person appearances have historically Texas's progress during Perry's 14 years credible competitors this cycle—and been crucial to his campaign strategies in at the helm was broad-based, substantial, one doozy of a criminal indictment. The Texas. Meanwhile, Perry has prioritized and arguably more equitable than any charge is abuse of power, in relation to policy expertise in his campaign staff and thing our conscientiously progressive a line-item veto from 2013. The case in his outreach to informal advisers. He president has managed to achieve. The against him seems dubious: He vetoed made several substantive speeches over state's unemployment rate has been be several million dollars' worth of annual the summer, which received positive re-low the national average every month for state funding to the state's Public Integrity views from political pundits, many of years. Median household incomes have Unit, which was then housed in the Travis whom were clearly surprised. With a risen. The number of firms owned by County district attorney's office, after the number of this year's candidates calling Hispanics and African Americans has district attorney in question had been confronted a renewed national conversation about grown. Jobs have been created in every victim of drunk driving and served several economic opportunity, it was probably major industry and every income quarter weeks in jail. Still, the indictment exists. inevitable that the candidate with the same tile. Last year's collapse in oil prices Early struggles on the campaign trail compelling record on the subject would helped debunk the persistent partisan are not necessarily fatal: John McCain pick up the theme. But no one was expecting criticism that the state's success has was forced to reshuffle his staff after ing anyone in the Republican field, much been fueled only by fossil fuels: Despite disastrous start in 2008, and he went on less Perry, to call on the party to confront dooms day predictions, the distress in the to capture the nomination. But Perry its historically half-hearted interest in energy industry has translated into a needs to find his footing. Making the next improving America's race relations, or to slower rate of economic growth rather prime-time debate stage is a necessary challenge Wall Street by making a force—than a countercyclical recession. If any first step. After that, Perry will have to show he is the right man for the moment. He has a record to back that case up, but he is running out of time to make it. **NR**

Perry has continued to show a sense of the 17 Republicans running this year, than Trump, was grandstanding. Either serious purpose since announcing that he and any of the others would give halfway, although his favorability ratings would make a second attempt to win their PAC money for Texas's record. The among Republican voters remain high, White House. He has maintained a busy top-line success captured in state-GDP his support has been negligible in the travel schedule, with a particular focus on growth and total employment doesn't polls. This contrast is a reminder that, making inroads in Iowa. Even Perry's fully convey how striking the Lone Star even before his campaign ran out of cash, critics concede that his skill at retail State's economic performance has been. Perry's chances of getting a second hearing are virtually unparalleled, and Virtually all available metrics show that ing were doubtful. He has eight or nine in-person appearances have historically Texas's progress during Perry's 14 years credible competitors this cycle—and been crucial to his campaign strategies in at the helm was broad-based, substantial, one doozy of a criminal indictment. The Texas. Meanwhile, Perry has prioritized and arguably more equitable than any charge is abuse of power, in relation to policy expertise in his campaign staff and thing our conscientiously progressive a line-item veto from 2013. The case in his outreach to informal advisers. He president has managed to achieve. The against him seems dubious: He vetoed made several substantive speeches over state's unemployment rate has been be several million dollars' worth of annual the summer, which received positive re-low the national average every month for state funding to the state's Public Integrity views from political pundits, many of years. Median household incomes have Unit, which was then housed in the Travis whom were clearly surprised. With a risen. The number of firms owned by County district attorney's office, after the number of this year's candidates calling Hispanics and African Americans has district attorney in question had been confronted a renewed national conversation about grown. Jobs have been created in every victim of drunk driving and served several economic opportunity, it was probably major industry and every income quarter weeks in jail. Still, the indictment exists. inevitable that the candidate with the same tile. Last year's collapse in oil prices Early struggles on the campaign trail compelling record on the subject would helped debunk the persistent partisan are not necessarily fatal: John McCain pick up the theme. But no one was expecting criticism that the state's success has was forced to reshuffle his staff after ing anyone in the Republican field, much been fueled only by fossil fuels: Despite disastrous start in 2008, and he went on less Perry, to call on the party to confront dooms day predictions, the distress in the to capture the nomination. But Perry its historically half-hearted interest in energy industry has translated into a needs to find his footing. Making the next improving America's race relations, or to slower rate of economic growth rather prime-time debate stage is a necessary challenge Wall Street by making a force—than a countercyclical recession. If any first step. After that, Perry will have to show he is the right man for the moment. He has a record to back that case up, but he is running out of time to make it. **NR**

In other ways, too, Perry is showing looks better in retrospect—resilient as himself to be a more qualified contender well as robust.



# Bernie and Black Lives

*Why a faction of the Left has turned on the Vermont socialist*

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

**B**LACK LIVES MATTER, the loosely organized radical group that sprang up to protest police violence after the Michael Brown killing and similar incidents, is giving the Bernie Sanders campaign fits, interrupting his speeches and accusing the impeccably progressive crowds gathered to hear them of racism.

Senator Sanders, who is challenging Hillary Rodham Clinton from a political stance so far to the left that he remains technically outside the Democratic party—he is an independent and a socialist—has an agenda and a history that should be attractive to the racial-grievance Left: He was active in the civil-rights movement, and, as mayor of Burlington, Vt., he endorsed Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign while the Clinton gang was backing Michael Dukakis and the unions were lined up behind Dick Gephardt. Sanders buys into all the usual left-wing conspiracy theories—e.g., that black Americans are incarcerated at relatively high rates because of the machinations of prison-management companies—and he makes all the familiar noises about “institutional racism.”

Yet in Seattle, Senator Sanders was driven from the stage as activists seized the microphone and demanded that the crowd “join us now in holding Bernie Sanders accountable.”

Why?

There is an element of realpolitik here: For black activists on the left, the potential costs of attacking a Clinton are very high, while the costs of attacking an elderly progressive northeastern Jew who represents the whitest state in the union and who is never going to be president are relatively low. And the Clinton people are better at politics than the Sanders people are, and have proffered such sops as private meetings with the candidate to head off any public confrontation.

Part of the trouble in Seattle had to do with conditions on the ground. As in places as different as Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, African Americans in Seattle have helped ensure decades of virtually uninterrupted progressive government under effectively unchallengeable Democrats (Washington hasn't elected a Republican governor since 1981; Seattle hasn't had a Republican mayor since the 1960s), but life has not improved very much for the city's small black population. As in progressive San Francisco, in Seattle blacks are much poorer than average and are incarcerated at much higher rates than whites. And even considering their 7.9 percent share of the population, they are notably rare among progressive officeholders: The Democrat who boasts of being “the only woman of color in the state senate,” like

and activists supporting young illegal immigrants. In a CNN commentary, Jones argued that the emerging racial-justice wing is “highly suspicious of both” the Clinton camp and the Sanders-Warren economic populists “and finds the clueless hypocrisy of the second to be particularly grating.” It is interesting that the Sanders approach rather than the Clinton approach is considered especially offensive, given that Sanders has had so little in the way of real power compared with the Clintonites. “It is fair to hold Sanders to a higher standard,” Jones writes, because “unlike Hillary Clinton or Martin O'Malley, the central conceit of Sanders's campaign is that he represents a voice of moral clarity against skyrocketing inequality. Any fair discussion of ‘income inequality’ must necessarily include a denunciation of our racially biased crimi-

## Senator Sanders's economic thinking is daft, but there are at least some real data documenting the foundation of his complaint.

the celebrated socialist recently elected to the Seattle city council, is a well-off immigrant from India.

State senator Pramila Jayapal, who was one of the speakers at the interrupted Sanders rally, noted in the pages of the *tranger*, a Seattle newspaper, that Sanders “knows he comes from a very white state, and he's a 70-plus-year-old white guy.” She perceptively explained that Senator Sanders's problem is that he is offering an economic analysis where something else is wanted. “His primary lens for all of his work . . . is economic. . . . But the deeper comfort with talking about race and racism is harder.”

This is in no small part a contest over control of the Democratic party's internal levers of power. Van Jones, the self-described Communist and “rowdy black nationalist” who was momentarily a controversial figure in the Obama administration, explains that the two traditional competing Democratic factions—the purportedly moderate and business-friendly Clinton wing and the class-warfare wing represented by Senator Sanders and Senator Elizabeth Warren—are seeing their duopoly challenged by a “racial-justice wing” led by Black Lives Matter

nal justice system. Always.” Jones is here being polite: Mrs. Clinton does in fact share Senator Sanders's conceits about economic inequality, it's just that nobody believes her to be sincere in anything besides her desire to win the election.

One of the problems with Senator Sanders's economics-centered view is that economic propositions are to some extent verifiable. Senator Sanders's economic thinking is daft, but there are at least some real data documenting the foundation of his complaint that there is an increasingly wide gap in wealth and income between the very well-off and the average American household, and an even more dramatic separation between the affluent and the poor. Senator Sanders remains somewhat oblivious to the fact that this is a global reality, in the Scandinavian welfare states he so admires as elsewhere. (Sweden's wealth distribution is about as tilted toward the top 1 percent as the United States', or slightly more so, depending on how you do the math. It also has a more hereditary character.) Senator Sanders's analysis may be cracked, but it is a fact that incomes at the top have been pulling away from the middle for some time.



# The Truth-Teller

*Robert Conquest exposed the horrors of the USSR*

BY DAVID PRYCE-JONES

ROBERT CONQUEST has just died at the age of 98, and the world's shadows seem a little darker. To declare an interest, I and I have been friends since the days when he was foreign editor of the U.K. *Spectator* and I was the magazine's literary editor. One of Bob's particular bêtes noires was Ezra Pound, whose fascist sympathies and pretentious poetry he disliked in more or less equal proportions. Since the end of the war, Pound had been confined to a hospital in prison-like conditions. A number of poets were pressing for his release on compassionate grounds. Bob would not have it. A poet himself, he had offered to write the very last word on Pound in the literary pages I had just taken over. But when the piece did not arrive, I had to persuade him to devote the week-end to writing it, otherwise the next issue should have blank pages. The secret, I discovered, was to involve Bob in a good political skirmish.

By that time, Bob was engaged in research for *The Great Terror*, published in 1968. That book was the first to document the mass murder Joseph Stalin had initiated and supervised in the name of Communism. For three years at the end of the 1930s, the Soviet Union was a cauldron of denunciation and arbitrary arrest, rigged trials and confessions extracted by torture, and blackmail that ended in deportation to the Gulag or execution. Basing his study on the available primary sources, especially the demographic evidence to be deduced from censuses, Bob calculated that somewhere on the order of 120 million people had been killed. The crime itself is one of the most horrible in history, and the cover-up on a worldwide scale made it still worse. As a Marxist, Stalinist and Trotskyist, the likes of E. J. Hobsbawm and Isaac Deutscher, sanctified state terrorism and afterward by insisting that the Communist Party was always right and merely doing natural justice to traitors and

Conversely, it is not clear that there is an actual fact at the root of Black Lives Matter's complaint. That black Americans are mistreated by the police as a result of racial bias is held as received wisdom, but there are not that many who pelling data to support it. "I want to see a cop shoot a white unarmed teenager under political discipline via the Justice Department, etc. He goes right to the point, which is that if Black Lives Matter wants something, and if they are willing to get-give him grief, then it should be a national priority to give them what they want: "At the federal level we need to establish a new model police-training program that reorients the way we do law enforcement in this country. Within a broad segment of the community, including activists and leaders from organizations like Black Lives Matter, we will reinvent how we police America." Senator Sanders would bring an interesting perspective to that project: Vermont is 95 percent white and at *RealClearPolicy*, Robert VerBruggen just over 1 percent black, and its considers the intriguing possibility that violent crime, by most measures, this is partly a reflection of slightly higher rates of mental illness (and hence suicide by-cop) among whites; as he notes, the *Washington Post* has been tracking every police killing in the country and has found that one-third of whites killed by police had a history of mental illness, as opposed to one-sixth of blacks.

Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous standard and began to judge friend campus-rape epidemic (women on college campuses are in fact statistically less likely to be raped than are women in contexts), the (probably) fictitious story of black Americans' being disproportionately victimized—and outright murders and fears definable solutions—by racist police officers isn't about facts and figures: It is an invitation to affiliation and a demand for fealty. Definable problems suggest definable solutions unamenable to the movement's political interests: Who is the mayor of Baltimore, anyway? Of Cleveland? As Dara Lind put it, "Identity-killings of Michael Brown et al. is based on an effort to move the conversation away from identifiable episodes of racial discrimination, which are today relatively rare, toward investigations of amor-phous and faceless "white supremacy" and "white privilege." What Black Lives Matter wants isn't a rigorous analysis of a morality play, and in this case it is fatal to the conventions of the genre. The evil take the form of a white man suggesting Senator Sanders.

But no matter what he says or does, Senator Sanders is a white man offering himself as a leader to a movement that does not wish to be led by white people. The American Left long ago inverted the roles of white and black. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous standard and began to judge friend campus-rape epidemic (women on college campuses are in fact statistically less likely to be raped than are women in contexts), the (probably) fictitious story of black Americans' being disproportionately victimized—and outright murders and fears definable solutions—by racist police officers isn't about facts and figures: It is an invitation to affiliation and a demand for fealty. Definable problems suggest definable solutions unamenable to the movement's political interests: Who is the mayor of Baltimore, anyway? Of Cleveland? As Dara Lind put it, "Identity-killings of Michael Brown et al. is based on an effort to move the conversation away from identifiable episodes of racial discrimination, which are today relatively rare, toward investigations of amor-phous and faceless "white supremacy" and "white privilege." What Black Lives Matter wants isn't a rigorous analysis of a morality play, and in this case it is fatal to the conventions of the genre. The evil take the form of a white man suggesting Senator Sanders.



class enemies by getting rid of them, suggesting, when an American publicity, exaggerating everything he believed Under the illusion that Communism was proposed to replace the Great Terror, lied helped the cause and omitting progressive, innumerable people, including a new title, "I Told You So, You Were Wrong," that he thought harmful. Uncon- ing reputed intellectuals and politicians "fools." The dismissive and reactionary, armed with primary sources, he seems suspended their critical faculties. Bob includes he and Bob adopted and shared to have gone in for reality checks. all such useful idiots in his sights, with the poet Philip Larkin were. So he performed the remarkable feats of character to take them on: "There were signed as protective jokes. Collaboration justifying Stalin's show trials and praising great Marxist called Lenin / Who did write limericks mocking critics of the Soviet Union's invasion of Finland in or the million men in / That's a little not respect, or exchange-

have done in / But where he did in the schoolboy smut, the That grand Marxist Stalin did ten times of them formed v

Compression of the Soviet catastrophe might be called an un- into a limerick that makes people groined resistance move - displays a certain genius. Bob spoke softly of the Right. ly, applying the slightly outdated word Bob's books ranged over "chaps" to ideological enemies, but he could War topics, for unanswerable. At a journalistic gathering on the persecution in a London that believed it was better to Pasternak for pu be ed than dead, his name came up, and his novel Doctor the lefties present said that someone Zhukov; the Arctic gul anti-Soviet as Bob was objectively a off as Kolyma; and the as cist—so much for his attacks on Revision of Sergei Kir and fascism. If I was his friend and almost certainly at Stalin league, then I had to be a fascist best. Published in 198

Son of an American father and The Harvest of Sorrow is British mother, Bob was educated that authoritative account of Win chester, a famously highbrow school, collectivization of ag and Magda len College, Oxford. At culture in Ukraine around Spectator conference, I can also recall, he 1930, another of the his pointed out that the whole lot of us written for which Stalin ing were of mixed parentage and not responsible. Using primary us, or the country, was the worse for us. He again, Bob com had firsthand experience of Communism put that something on briefly as a member of the Party, then as of 7 million people

officer with the wartime Military Mission then died either of starvation in 1939 and its subsequent repression of in Bulgaria. He might recite Bulgarian they had been deported and killed in 1956, while his magnum poetry or reminisce about Frank Thompson some gulag. opus about the 20th century did not, in son, a Communist colleague on the After the collapse of the Soviet Union, than 600 pages, mention the So - Mili tary Mission who elevated into its archives became accessible and viet -secret police, Soviet slave labor, the some thing of a legend after he lost his life. That Bob's scholarship had been terror famine in Ukraine, the Soviet in a firefight with the Germans (a surprisingly thorough. If anything, harder in wartime of the Polish elite, station in Sofia is named in his honor), underestimated the number of and more atrocities besides. In 1994,

The Soviet takeover of Bulgaria made. Bob had fulfilled the classic Hobsbawm told a BBC interviewer that Bob feel pity for people he had posed of the historian to represent reality, death of 15 to 20 million was a price know, and anger on their behalf. Russians were quick to lionize him, worth paying to have a Communist soci- imagination that something similar could happen here was the basis of his friend Presidential Medal of Freedom, him closer to the superstitions witch ship with the like-minded Kingsley Amis, counterweight to the prestigious Con doctor than to the procedures of a pro- Amis's novel Russian Hide and Seek has panion of Honour that Prime Minister Blair, professor and member of the British an opening scene in which an elderly saw fit to give Hobsbawm. Marxist historians work under an ideol ogy, with some 30 honorary de - young officer riding through the English countryside is revealed to belong to logical obligation to misrepresent realities. Bob had just two.

victorious Soviet army occupying Britain. Events have to satisfy the determined does it matter, now that the Cold War is When the Conservatives unexpectedly, then that Karl Marx ordained for them? Yes: This is vital unfinished busi- won the general election of 1970, Isaac Deutscher, a Marxist writer with a Bob's criticism of Soviet Com - Kingsley celebrate at a party by staging many dances, showed what the Communism was combative, that's true—but on the table, doing a little dance, manipulation of evidence could achieve a great man because he had the same shouting at disappointed socialists all Eric Hobsbawm, surely the most approach toward the totalitarian chaps around the room, "Five more years grant apologist in the English language keep on coming and by the look of side the barbed wire." Kingsley is credited Communism, was a master of secrets will.

NR





# Puzzling Out Pope Francis

*Offhand remarks, often reported without context, have shaped his image*

BY RAMESH PONNURU

POPE FRANCIS probably does not pay close attention to American opinion polls. He is not a politician, and he heads a worldwide institution. Moreover, he seems less concerned about the United States, and developed countries generally, than some of his predecessors have been. He did look at the polls—perhaps one of his aides has direct his attention to the Gallup results from July as he to come here in September—he would be relieved to discover that 59 percent of Americans think favorably of him. That’s more than Pope Benedict did, if not as well as Pope John Paul II. But his popularity here is dropping. In 2014, 76 percent of Americans viewed him favorably. American conservatives have led the downward trend, with only 45 percent now positive about him. By comparison, 68 percent of liberals like him. It’s the reverse of the pattern we have come to expect since Benedict, three years into his pontificate, was more popular among Republicans than Democrats. The tenor of media coverage of Pope Francis also breaks the mold. He is the “progressive pope” who challenges the American Right on poverty and environment as much as previous popes challenged the American Left on abortion and sexual issues. Democrats are planning the pope’s visit to advance progressive causes, with Representative Rosa DeLauro, of Connecticut, organizing a letter mending his support for them.

Francis gets criticism from the left too, since he has not changed Catholic doctrine on any of the moral issues that divide it from progressives. (Pope Francis is the most popular pope in the world who attacks contraception, a successor in that title to Gandhi.) Among many conservatives, though, the concern is hardening that Francis’s heart really is on the left: that he is more eager to condemn capitalism as “the dung of the devil” than to promote the Church’s teachings on sexual morality. Indeed, many conservatives wonder how committed he is to the Church’s teachings. Didn’t he convene a synod designed to advance his liberal German friend Cardinal Walter Kasper’s agenda of softening the Church’s teaching on divorce and remarriage? That possibility led Ross Douthat, *New York Times* columnist (and *National Review* film critic), to suggest first that conservative Catholics should “resist” Francis and then that a “populism” could be in the offing. Some conservative Catholics—and here it should be noted that conservative and doctrinally conservative Catholics are distinct, though of course overlapping, groups—have sought to downplay their differences with this pope. They say that he has been misunderstood or misinterpreted, or taken out of context. Often enough this is true. Francis did not, in fact, refer to capitalism as the “dung of the devil”; he was speaking instead of the idolatry of material things. One of his most quoted remarks came a few



months into his papacy, when he said, “A gay person who is soclusiveness in the world. This opinion, which has never been ing God, who is of good will—well, who am I to judge him? confirmed by the facts, expresses a crude and naïve trust in the Most of those who have quoted him are not aware that his goodness of those wielding economic power and in the sacralized sentence commended the discussion of homosexuality in the workings of the prevailing economic system.” Take away the Church’s catechism, which makes a distinction between desires “trickle-down” label, and the first sentence accurately describes and actions that he was trying to echo.

Journalists tend to fit nearly any story involving Francis a tide will lift all boats. That view does not, however, logically simple-minded narrative of a big-hearted, progressive pope. entail either trust in the goodness of businessmen and rich people. Thus, when he reaffirmed Catholic teaching on the compatibility of a strong commitment to the economic status quo. Those who of faith and evolution, it got covered as something new. When like that view typically would prefer much freer markets, espe- hosted an interreligious colloquium on the complementarity officially in places where those wielding economic and political men and women in marriage, it hardly got covered at all. A fact, however have contrived to shield themselves from competition. story about the pope’s saying that dogs go to heaven made it to The meaning of other passages is elusive. Francis wrote that the front page of the *New York Times*, and of course it did: It had the economy can no longer turn to remedies that are a new poi- the pope being simultaneously dismissive of stuffy doctrine and, such as attempting to increase profits by reducing the wo- literally, kind to animals and small children.

Sometimes Catholic conservatives who usually roll their eyes mean businesses should never modernize or mechanize to at press coverage of their faith fall for the narrative themselves improve efficiency by reducing labor costs? Or does it mean that In January, Pope Francis was quoted saying that Catholics do governments should not purposely pursue economic policies that have to have children “like rabbits”; inevitably, the “breed” raise unemployment in order to raise profitability? Is his point was used in nearly all the write-ups. This was taken to be a absurd or trivial?

cism of large families. It does not appear to have been meant. Francis recently admitted that he does not know much about such. The pope was saying, instead, that the Church does not economics and invited critics to join him in dialogue. Conser va- teach that married couples have an obligation to maximize theives who think some of his commentary is misguided should number of children they have, and can have good reasons—take opportunities to do so. They should not respond, though, in cited maternal health specifically—for periodically practicing a spirit of alarm or anger. It’s not as though Pope Francis has abstinence so as to avoid conceiving children.

In no respect was he backing away from the condemnation of contraception. The remark was made in the course of explaining Catholics. These are his opinions, not teachings of the his comment that supporters of contraception had engaged in the Church. American conservatives should also keep in mind that “ideological colonization” of poor countries. Opposition to con- these are the opinions of a man whose understanding of econom- traception is often caricatured as incompatible with what this has been shaped by an Argentinian political economy very pope called “responsible parenting.” He was suggesting that it different from our own.

compatible, and in the process dismissing rather than embracing One might still wish that the pope would refrain from sharing that caricature. From the standpoint of Catholic teaching, them so volubly, if only because they sow confusion in a world worst one could say of the pope was that his conversational style already rife with misunderstandings of Church teaching. In my of speaking to journalists had led to a phrase that was easy to take parish, during an election featuring two Catholic candidates, out of context.

**T**HAT is, however, something that can be said of this pope ing for abortion, but the other one supported uranium mining. quite often. Francis’s immediate predecessors, Saint John You would have thought that the Church made no distinctions Paul and Benedict, were scholar-intellectuals; before between issues based on their moral gravity or the scope of pru- them had been several popes who came up through the Vatican dent judgment allowed to public authority.

diplomatic corps. They were trained, all of them, to weigh their We can expect a lot of this from Catholic Democrats during the words carefully. The same cannot be said for Francis, whose pope’s visit. They will more or less quietly concede that they dis- background is more pastoral.

Regardless of the reason, he makes a lot of comments that them about poverty, the environment, and so on. Church teaching not stand up to much scrutiny. In June he sweepingly condemned, of course, insist on a public responsibility for the weapons makers who call themselves Christian and then criticized poor and the environment, but it does not—and Francis does the Allies for not having bombed “the railway lines that brought—propose a program to achieve these objectives. Whatever a the trains to the concentration camps.” His prepared statements in particular pope’s personal views happen to be, the Church does clude ill-considered passages as often as his off-the-cuff remarks not claim authority to adjudicate between those who favor do. A lengthy apostolic exhortation asserted that both violence market-oriented, economic-growth-enhancing approaches to and inequality were on the rise, with the former the consequence of letting people out of poverty and those who support greater gov- of the latter; both actually seem to declining globally.

In the most famous passage of the exhortation, Francis wrote on government-run social-welfare programs. The disagreement that “some people continue to defend trickle-down theories about abortion is different in kind, because it does not concern which assume that economic growth, encouraged by a free market how best to respect the right to life of unborn children but rather ket, will inevitably succeed in bringing about greater justice and whether that right exists and must be respected.

THE more issues on which the pope opines, the more natural the checklist approach to the Church's political teachings becomes. Pope Francis put in a good word for the public financing of campaigns on the theory that it makes officials independent of the interests that would otherwise fund their politicking. Maybe he is right and maybe he isn't, but did the world really need him to offer his personal opinion on the matter? After all, no one, certainly not Francis himself, claims that this view of the issue (or any other) represents the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church.

Pope Francis's recent encyclical on the care of the earth, which was widely taken to be a kind of environmental manifesto, combines authoritative Church teachings (such as the condemnation of materialism and the need to care for the weak, vulnerable, and poor paramount in decision-making) with expressions of personal opinion (about, for example, the alleged overuse of air-conditioning). In certain respects *Laudato si'* is a *cri de coeur* against modernity—although an incoherent one, as theologian R. R. Reno, the editor of *First Things*, has observed, since it seems to envision a global technocracy of awesome competence and ambition. Reno concludes that it breaks with the tradition of modern encyclicals in being a homiletic rather than a teaching document. It would be binding on the conscience if it were not so loose.

Politically conservative Catholics are used to Church officials, including Benedict, disagreeing with them on economic matters. More disquieting for many Catholics were the high-level discussions of Cardinal Kasper's proposal that Catholics who have divorced and remarried (but not been given a decree of marital annulment by the Church) be allowed to take Communion.

The Church may conclude—and often does, in the United States—that a failed marriage was never valid, for example because one or both of the parties to it lacked the maturity to enter a marriage. If the marriage has been judged invalid, though, it is indissoluble in the eyes of the Church—and someone who remarries without getting an earlier marriage annulled is presumptively committing adultery. The Church bases this view of divorce and remarriage on the explicit words of Jesus on the subject. Adultery is of course considered a grave sin, and repentance of grave sin is a prerequisite for receiving Communion. And so the divorced and remarried have, historically not, in theory, been allowed to receive it.

Pope Francis mentioned that the Eastern Orthodox (whose priesthood and sacraments are regarded as valid by Catholics) have a practice of allowing Communion in certain such cases, and he convened a synod of bishops to discuss it and other matters related to family life, including homosexuality. Kasper used the synod to restate his (rather implausible) argument that Communion could be allowed without calling into question the indissolubility of marriage. An early draft summary of the discussion tilted toward the progressives.

Many bishops, especially those from Africa, were against any softening of the Church's teaching. Kasper said that Africa had a "taboo" about homosexuality and therefore could not tell us too much what we have to do." When the comment was reported, he denied having made it; then the reporter produced a tape that showed he had. Kasper apologized if comment had been "perceived as demeaning or insulting."

The final report ended up being a victory for the traditionalists. Even a paragraph mentioning disagreement among the bishops over Communion for the remarried failed to get the required two-thirds vote. Francis insisted that the paragraphs be published anyway, along with the vote totals. Before, during, and after the synod, well-placed Vatican journalists suggested that the pro-change faction has been running a skillfully orchestrated campaign that enjoys the pope's support and can therefore withstand temporary setbacks. Francis's demotion of Cardinal Raymond Burke, who has said that the Church under Francis seems like "a ship without a rudder," has reinforced that impression. It is possible, though, to read all these events differently. One: Burke and Francis never got along with each other, even when Francis was Cardinal Bergoglio. The men had starkly different styles and ideas about how the Church should present itself, with Francis highlighting its majesty and Bergoglio its humility. Two: The synod was in truth something of a fiasco for the progressives. Bishops representing those parts of the world where the Church is growing forcefully rejected some of their key projects. Cardinal Kasper inflicted wounds on himself. The progressives are in a worse position than they were before the synod convened.

Three: Francis was never committed to Kasper's theology of marriage and Communion. He felt badly for remarried people and wanted to see whether something could be done for them, perhaps on the Eastern Orthodox model. He published the proposal that the vote tallies not because he wanted to score a point for the Kasperites but because he favors openness and transparency. (Putting Cardinal Pell in charge of reforming the Vatican's finances also reflects this preference, and shows it to be often justified.)

These interpretations are just as consistent with the facts as the view of Francis as behind-the-scenes progressive plotter—a view that makes him out to be a more Machiavellian figure than he seems to be. Some conservative Catholics treat Francis as though he were seeking systematically to undermine his position within the Church. But "systematic" does not appear to describe his m.o. in anything.

Conservatives, inside and outside the Church, should cajole and correct and criticize the pope when appropriate; and they should speak out especially when he is used to provide cover for abortion. But conservative Catholics should not think of themselves as being in some kind of revolt against Francis. He is, after all, the pope. He is owed respect and, within the proper sphere of his authority, obedience. Conservative Catholics surely understand that. They have—rightly!—criticized their liberal co-religionists for failing on both counts for more than 50 years. There is even a silver lining to some of his more frustrating pronouncements. Non-Catholics and even some Catholics have a distorted understanding of papal infallibility, which has been invoked only rarely and covers only teachings of faith and morals made on behalf of the entire Church. Some of Francis's predecessors, particularly Saint John Paul, probably led Catholics and especially conservative Catholics to take too tentative a view of the papacy. The next time conservatives are prompted to sigh (or worse) about some wrong-headed statement by the pope, they should consider that he is administering a useful corrective.

NR



# Facing Reality On Iran

*The Vienna deal sets up a  
choice of bad and worse*

BY JOHN R. BOLTON

WHEN Congress returns to Washington in September, it faces one of its most critical decisions in recent years: whether to reject the Vienna nuclear deal and ostensibly stop President Obama from waiving economic sanctions against Iran. Unfortunately, many staunch opponents of the deal, who rightly criticize its debilitating errors, inadequacies, and omissions, nonetheless misapprehend America's alternatives once Congress acts. They contend that, after blocking Obama's waiver authority, we should only maintain the current nonproliferation sanctions but impose stricter ones, both U.S. and even international. Under this theory, Iran would sooner or later be forced to seek new negotiations in which Washington could extract a better agreement. And even the absence of such an agreement, they argue, "no deal is better than a bad deal."

This is all fantasy. We have been overtaken by events, no matter how Congress votes.

Obama's mistakes, concessions, and general detachment from Middle Eastern reality for six and a half years make it impossible to travel in time back to a theoretical world where sanctions might have derailed Iran's nuclear-weapons program.

If Obama can save the Vienna agreement from Congress, he will lift sanctions for the remainder of his presidency. Alternatively, if his veto is overridden and U.S. sanctions remain in place, Europe, Russia, China, and everyone else will nonetheless proceed to implement the deal on their own. (And Obama's propensity not to enforce laws with which he agrees, which he is already signaling in this case, U.S. sanctions will almost certainly prove ineffective.) Either way, it is naive to think that a new Republican president in January 2017 will find any takers internationally to revive sanctions.

However Congress votes, Iran will still be marching inexorably toward deliverable nuclear weapons. Deals don't constrain mullahs, who see this capability as critical to the 1979 Islamic Revolution's very survival. Not surprisingly, therefore, existing sanctions have slowed down neither Iran's nuclear-weapon program nor its support for international terrorism. General James Clapper, Obama's director of national intelligence, testified in 2013 that sanctions had not changed the ayatollahs' nuclear efforts, and this assessment stands unmodified today.

Yemen's Houthis, and Syria's Assad regime has, if anything, increased. As for the sanctions' economic impact on Iran, Clapper testified that "the Supreme Leader's standard is a level of privation that Iran suffered during the Iran-Iraq war," a level that Iran was nowhere near in 2013 and is nowhere near today. In short, to have stopped Tehran's decades-long quest for nuclear weapons, global sanctions needed to match the paradigm for successful coercive economic measures. They had to be sweeping and comprehensive, swiftly applied and scrupulously adhered to by every major economic actor, and rigorously enforced by military power. The existing Security Council sanctions do not even approach these criteria. First, the scope of the Iran sanctions' prohibitions has always been limited, and they have been imposed episodically over an extended period of time, thereby affording Tehran ample opportunity to minimize their impact through smuggling, cheating, and evasion. And while the sanctions' breadth gradually expanded, the Council's typical approach was to prohibit trade only in certain items or technologies, or to name specific Iranian businesses, government agencies, or individuals with which U.N. member states were forbidden to do business. This very specificity made sanctions far easier to evade. If, for example, the ABC firm was named on the sanctions list, it took little effort to create a cutout company called XYZ to engage in precisely the same proscribed activities. Second, key foreign countries are decidedly uneven in adhering to sanctions. Russian and Chinese compliance is notoriously lax, and other countries are worse. Under Iran's sway, Iraq has been openly and notoriously facilitating Tehran's oil exports by providing false documentation of Iraqi origin or purchasing Iranian oil for Iraqi domestic consumption, thereby freeing Baghdad's oil for export. The Obama administration itself repeatedly granted waivers to countries that claimed they needed to import Iranian oil. Although clandestine sanctions violators do not publish audited financial statements, creative criminal wherds (and not a few creative entrepreneurial minds) have found enough slack in the sanctions to keep Iran afloat, even if its citizens suffered economically. No one has ever described the ayatollahs as consumer-society-friendly. Finally, it was largely national law-enforcement agencies, rather than military forces, that monitored the sanctions. Unsurprisingly, the quality of such efforts varied greatly, and the Security Council hardly matches the Pentagon in command-and-control authority. In recent history, the only sanctions regime to approximate the ideal paradigm was that imposed on Saddam Hussein in 1990, just days after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Security Council Resolution 661 provided that all states "shall prevent . . . the import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait" except food, medicine, and humanitarian supplies. That is the very definition of "comprehensive," and the polar opposite of the congeries of sanctions imposed on Iran. Significantly, while Resolution 661 approached the theoretical ideal, even its sanctions failed to break Saddam's stranglehold on Kuwait. Had Washington waited much longer than it did before militarily ousting Saddam, Kuwait would have been thoroughly looted and despoiled.

Thus, even strict, comprehensive, rigorously enforced sanctions are not necessarily enough to stop a determined adversary. Other critically important conditions, such as a truly credible threat of military force, must accompany sanctions. In 1990-91,

*Mr. Bolton is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He is the author of Surrender Is Not an Option: Defending America at the United Nations and Abroad.*

the United States and a multinational coalition presented just as China have to put Iran, a potentially major player in their such a credible threat, but Saddam nonetheless refused to back down, resulting in his humiliating military defeat. In 2002–03, European firms are already locking up massive trade and in - Saddam yet again faced a credible military threat and again refused to back down. He thereupon not only lost militarily but also lost his regime and ultimately his life. Does anyone believe that Barack Obama's in-theater utterances that "all economic options are on the table" carry a credible threat to the mullahs? And once the economic benefits begin to flow, Europeans will fiercely resist reinstituting

Finally, there must be a U.S. negotiator who knows how to negotiate. In 1990–91, Secretary of State James Baker made every effort to find a diplomatic solution meeting U.S. criteria - including a last-minute Geneva meeting with Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz. Baker was prepared to try diplomacy but not prepared to concede the key point: immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. His successors under Obama didn't have that steel, and the results show.

**B**UT we do not face the hypothetical question whether, five, ten, or twenty years ago, a better deal with Iran might have been possible. Even if we could honestly answer that question affirmatively, the option no longer exists. As we look forward, hard as it may be to swallow, there is no other deal available. Obama is right when he makes this point: Mercantilism is alive and well in Paris: When it comes to advancing French international commercial interests, even Socialist

Iran aside (since Tehran is obviously delighted with the deal), none of the other parties to the Vienna agreement have any interest in even considering resurrecting a stricter sanctions regime. Russia and China, as just noted, have hardly adhered to Security Council sanctions these last eight-plus years, and they are eagerly preparing to eliminate even the pretense of compliance.

In April, before the agreement was signed, Vladimir Putin issued a decree authorizing the long-stalled sale of the S-300 aircraft system to Iran. Even though S-300s were not actually barred by U.N. sanctions, Putin's decree signals the start of an Oklahoma land rush of business for Russia, from nuclear reactors (for "peaceful" uses, of course) to military equipment and more. In July, Iran's Quds Force commander, Qassem Suleimani, visited Moscow in open disdain of theoretically still-operative sanctions to discuss sales of weapons, including the S-300. Given all the evidence, there is simply no basis to conclude that Iran economically troubled Moscow wants to close its bazaar to Iran.

China is already poised to make multibillion-dollar capital investments in Iran's oil-production and refining capacities, thereby giving it privileged access to Iran's oil and natural gas in the future while also boosting Beijing's competitive edge in extracting deals from other producers. Moreover, China and Russia both long to build a parallel global economic structure to challenge the one now dominated by Western institutions. From dethroning the U.S. dollar as the world's reserve currency, to creating an international bank funds-transfer system to compete with the SWIFT wire transfer system in global markets, to sidelining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank through such institutions as the new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Beijing and Moscow are looking for openings. Lifting the Iran sanctions from its other commitments?

gives them a new opportunity to exploit while also affording the Kremlin indirect relief from sanctions in response to its military intervention in Ukraine, by providing alternative business opportunities now denied. What possible incentive would Russia



here. And when he says that the alternative to his failed deal, isled by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey. This is one more “some kind of war” (a phrase that obscures more than it reveals) compelling reason to stop Iran now. Taken alone, the Vienna deal he is simply continuing his efforts to sell a bad deal. already inflicts a mortal wound on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, but a fully nuclearized Middle East would be a global strategic catastrophe.

**U**NDERSTANDING the reality that, in today’s circumstances, the mullahs never intended to agree to—or low—any deal that could satisfy America clarifies why our alternatives as we look forward are decidedly limited or different. Jerusalem must choose between a world after a matter how Congress votes: Either Iran remains solidly on a path to deliverable nuclear weapons, sooner rather than later, or a world with a nuclear enemy whose objective someone uses military force to prevent that outcome. In fact, that world as it is today, because that world is rapidly becoming has been the reality for the past decade, despite Herculean efforts by many to avoid facing it.

Accordingly, as of today, only a preemptive military strike Israel has not hesitated. In neither case, perhaps incomprehensibly to some, did the Middle East descend into war and block Iran from becoming a nuclear-weapons state. No other regional power wanted Saddam to have nuclear option, just as we can understand why Obama tries to shoe-horn weapons (neither in 1981 nor thereafter), and, despite the flurry debate into a “my way or war” dichotomy. But neither wishful anti-Israel activity at the United Nations, there were no suspecting nor outright deception can change the fundamental consequences following Israel’s attack. After Israel’s 2007 strategic reality. That facing reality is unpalatable politically, like on Syria, Arab reaction was almost entirely muted, because does not mean we can imagine another reality into existence, cause the Arabs suspected that the al-Kibar reactor joint a



*Negotiators speak with media following talks in Lausanne, Switzerland, on Iran’s nuclear program.*

The spinmeisters can contemplate how to “message” the point, venture between Damascus and Tehran. The Sunni Arabs didn’t but America must recognize the facts it faces once Congress votes a nuclear Iran in 2007, and they don’t want it now. Not only

To stop Iran from achieving its 35-year goal of deliverable with the Arab monarchies quietly accept a preemptive Israeli clear weapons, either America or Israel must be prepared to military strike against Iran, some might even cooperate. This is military force. Obviously, under Obama, Washington has essentially how national interests actually work in international affairs. tially left the field. Although he has said repeatedly that he would Obviously, such a dangerous and complicated mission raises to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, not contain it a host of questions. Can Israel succeed alone? Not as well as the after the fact, containment is Obama’s only remaining option. United States could, to be sure, but well enough. As the British This explains why Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter is offering spokesman Mick Jagger once wrote, “You can’t always get what ing advanced weapons and increased cooperation to the Arabi want, but if you try sometimes, you just might find you get oil-producing monarchies. These are the classic foundations of what you need.” Israel has the military capability to cause massive damage to key choke points in Iran’s nuclear program (at least, containment strategy.

The Gulf Arabs will undoubtedly accept Carter’s offers, and we know about), notably the Isfahan uranium-conversion much more if they can get it. Deep down, however, have no plant, the Natanz uranium-enrichment facility, and the Arak faith that, if they find themselves threatened by Iran, they are not a reactor and heavy-water-production facility. genuinely protected by America’s conventional or nuclear Isfahan and Arak are above ground and constitute fairly easy umbrella. Why should they? Ask Israel how it feels. Not surprising. Indeed, little-known Isfahan is both particularly important ingly, therefore, a regional nuclear-arms race is already under way and particularly vulnerable. If Iran cannot convert uranium from

the solid 308 to the gas 6Fits centrifuges cannot operate. Natanz is buried and hardened and will pose more obstacles for Israel than for America, but Israel can do the necessary. The Fordow uranium-enrichment facility is a more serious problem for Israel, but there is little doubt Jerusalem can close the entrance tunnels, air shafts, and electrical connections going deep underground. Preventive maintenance, in the form of small-scale Israeli strikes, to keep them closed may be needed over the years, but it's hard for scientists to work when they can't breathe.

Iran, of course, would respond. Herein lies the greatest danger and the hardest decision for Prime Minister Netanyahu's government. Iran would most likely retaliate by unleashing Hezbollah and Hamas to rocket Israeli targets, especially terrorizing civilian areas. What is not so likely is that Iran would take any action that would generate a U.S. military response, such as closing the Strait of Hormuz, mining the Persian Gulf, or attacking the Gulf Arab states or deployed U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf. Losing their nuclear program would be bad enough for the mullahs. Losing their navy, air force, and who knows what else in American hands, even under Barack Obama, would be far more and potentially fatal to the regime itself.

Other speculation about Tehran's response is fanciful. Some say an attack would cause Iran to accelerate its nuclear efforts. Compared with what? And it's hard to accelerate when key elements of your program have been reduced to ashes. Other say Iran would increase its terrorist activity worldwide—but could it do much more than it can when its assets abroad are under windfalls? We should not be blind to any possibility, but we must remain focused and objective.

For America, an Israeli attack also has potentially enormous consequences, including the economic risks and the threat of forces in the Gulf. But every potential increase in risk in the United States and to each of our allies consequent upon a preemptive strike will, whether our allies realize it or not, be higher, and permanent, when Iran acquires deliverable nuclear weapons. As with Israel, our real self-interest lies in facing the threat now before it metastasizes and becomes truly nuclear.

If Jerusalem strikes Iran, we will undoubtedly learn of it after operations have commenced. Given the level of distrust between Israel and Obama, there is essentially no chance we will receive advance notice. Nonetheless, America should be immediately prepared to do two things to help Israel. First, and diplomatically, we should argue unhesitatingly that a preemptive Israeli strike is a legitimate exercise of Israel's right of self-defense. In an age of weapons of mass destruction and insignificant attack-warning times, this is basic common sense for us.

Second, Congress should immediately authorize and appropriate all necessary assistance for Israel to allow it to defend itself against Hamas and Hezbollah or direct Iranian retaliation. Israel's military would probably expend significant resources and suffer heavy losses of men and matériel over Iran. To adequately protect its civilians, Israel could brook no delay in suppressing hostile activity from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley or the Gaza Strip. Obama might procrastinate and equivocate, but Congress must do everything it can to force his hand.

These are bitter, unpleasant choices. They have been years or more. They are nonetheless still preferable to a world where Iran. Welcome to Obama's post-Vienna world.

# Ready Always to Give an Answer

*Campus Christians flourish amid adversity*

BY DAVID FRENCH

THE phone call came after midnight on April 13, 2000. A representative from the "J," the Tufts Community Union Judiciary, called Curtis and Jody Chang, Boston-area campus-ministry leaders for InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, to deliver a short message. Without a hearing or an opportunity to be heard, the Tufts Christian Fellowship, the largest student group at Tufts University and an InterVarsity affiliate, had been expelled from campus—"de-recognized," in the

bureaucratic language of university regulations. The grounds? The Fellowship was a threat to campus safety. Its Christian message of sin and redemption could drive students to suicide. The proximate cause for the J's fury was the Fellowship's recent decision to deny a lesbian student's application to lead the group. Not only did the student expressly disagree with InterVarsity's teachings on marriage, family, and human sexuality, she also specifically stated that she wanted to use her position as a member of the Fellowship to advocate gay rights. It would be the equivalent of Walter Palmer attempting to join PETA to lead the group in protesting to kill Cecil the lion. Rather than accept such leadership, the Fellowship chose to remain true to its Biblical roots: An orthodox Christian organization wanted an orthodox Christian leader—as Baptists want Baptist pastors, Muslims prefer imams to rabbis, and Republicans tend to nominate Republicans to represent their district. But the secular university is consumed by both the sexual revolution and identity politics. Thus, the Fellowship's common-sense exercise of freedom of association was immediately re-

characterized as hate and exclusion. When news of the Fellowship's expulsion hit the media, and as the Fellowship began to fight back not just in campus courts but in the court of public opinion, the campaign against it began to lead. Soon, InterVarsity chapters at Harvard, Williams College, and Middlebury found themselves under scrutiny or expelled from campus. Next, large public universities took aim at InterVarsity—it was expelled from Rutgers and threatened at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Multiple University of Wisconsin schools attacked InterVarsity and other campus ministries. At every school, the reasoning was the same: It was discriminatory for a Christian organization to reserve leadership for Christians. InterVarsity was bigoted, best compared to the Ku Klux Klan and southern segregationists. First defended, then soon thousands of Christian students found their lives disrupted; they were viewed as outcasts and some faced acts of physical intimidation.

Within two years, InterVarsity became the nation's most embattled Christian ministry, and the problem only got worse. At Central College in Iowa, InterVarsity faced potential expulsion after it asked a gay student to step down from leadership after he refused to advocate Biblical sexual ethics. At the State University



of New York at Buffalo, the administration de-recognized the Supreme Court's redefinition of marriage. *Obergefell v. Hodges*. Orthodox Christians in the United States are enduring eligible for leadership, despite that student's objection to the university's action and his respect for InterVarsity's Biblical stances. Religious employers refuse to recognize same-sex marriage, they sexuality. At other universities, campus ideologues pursued InterVarsity even though Muslim student groups not only maintained their own exclusive membership and leadership policies but typically engaged in sex-segregated worship—thereby “discriminating” on the bases of religion, sexual orientation, and gender.

In 2010, InterVarsity's plight worsened. *Christian Legal Society v. Martinez*, the Supreme Court rejected decades of First Amendment precedent and ruled that it was permissible for universities to require Christian student groups to be open to non-Christian leaders, at least so long as the universities consistently maintained an “all comers” policy that required all student groups to be open to leadership from any qualifying student. Universities could, in effect, force atheist leadership on Christian students.

By 2014, the number of affected students had expanded exponentially. InterVarsity faced expulsion or expulsion at tactical withdrawal from popular culture designed partly to give dozens of campuses. It was de-recognized at all 23 schools in the California State University system. InterVarsity was so prominent in the fight for religious freedom on campus that sources at Capitol Hill have said that university lobbyists trying to block religious-freedom legislation claimed that universities didn't have a religious-freedom problem, but rather an “InterVarsity problem”—all because InterVarsity consistently and steadfastly refused to comply with campus demands that it abandon its principles when selecting its leaders.

I KNOW this history because I've lived it. For 15 years, I helped defend InterVarsity on campuses from coast to coast, beginning at Tufts University, where I launched a defense effort after receiving that midnight call. I argued for religious liberty before campus tribunals, haggled with deans and provosts, filed suit when necessary, and made the case for religious freedom in the media during those few sporadic times when the largely behind-the-scenes fight for liberty broke briefly into the news cycle.

During that time, I got to know InterVarsity, from its national leaders to its university-level staff to its student members. I watched it respond to a frontal attack in the culture wars and struggle to maintain its character. And, critically, I watched it grow. Yes, grow.

Led since 2001 by Alec Hill, who recently stepped down to bone-marrow cancer, the nation's most embattled Christian ministry also turns out to be one of its most vibrant. In 2001, InterVarsity reported reaching roughly 31,906 students and faculty on 533 campuses.

By 2015, InterVarsity was on 649 campuses and reaching more than 40,000 students and faculty. This was a double-edged sword—growth rate made all the more notable by the facts that overall campus participation declines significantly during students' college years and that Millennials are more likely to disavow the faith of their parents than any preceding generation. While Christianity struggles on campus, InterVarsity grows. Not only does it grow, but with the exception of a handful of campuses across the country, it has tended to prevail in its fights for religious freedom—even at California State University, which welcomes InterVarsity back on campus this academic year. What are the keys to InterVarsity's success?

The question is particularly pertinent given the religious community's alarm—sometimes bordering on panic—in response to its statement of faith. Any student organization was free to leave

InterVarsity at any time, and InterVarsity was free to withdraw its recognition and support if a student group disavowed InterVarsity's Biblical doctrines. Affiliation was creedal rather than organizational—often InterVarsity chapters are the only extensively organizational or bureaucratic. This meant that the majority-minority religious organizations on campus—they viewed themselves as uniquely positioned to engage the administration and the wider campus.

Consequently, when administrators pushed student leadership to abandon the national organization and move forward “free” of external influence, they encountered students who had already made the choice to affiliate with InterVarsity and viewed that choice as an important expression of their beliefs and freedom of choice. At Vanderbilt, InterVarsity students brought doughnuts to an LGBT counter-protest. Students held a prayer vigil for the school’s board of directors, praying for the members’ families and businesses, and sought God’s blessings on the very people who were voting to eject InterVarsity and almost all other Christian groups. At another university, InterVarsity made their own group, and they could cut ties with InterVarsity and make their own way at the school.” The group took a vote by secret ballot—LGBT bullying, and at still another they co-hosted an event with LGBT leaders, trying to model the university’s alleged dedication to “dialogue across differences.”

Warren, who worked with InterVarsity’s Graduate Christian Fellowship during its yearlong battle for survival at Vanderbilt University, recalls the student reaction at her campus. “I reminded them that they didn’t have to fight,” she explains. “They stood with InterVarsity and made their own way at the school.” The group took a vote by secret ballot—LGBT bullying, and at still another they co-hosted an event with LGBT leaders, trying to model the university’s alleged dedication to “dialogue across differences.”

Stories like this were repeated across the country as chapter presidents of InterVarsity staff outlined the options to embattle students. Stay and defend the doctrinal basis or cut ties and leaders reported that more than 4,000 students made a first-time cate the administration. Through it all, students and professors refused to cast aside their Christian principles for social administrative acceptance.

InterVarsity’s resistance depended not on creeds alone, however, but on a healthy dose of perspective. Like many members of Evangelical institutions, InterVarsity staff and student leaders keenly aware of the immense, deadly persecution of Christians overseas. Their own struggles paled by comparison. Jao said he was “never particularly dismayed” that the culture was driving away from InterVarsity. For the “national culture and political framework” to reinforce the Christian value system, as they have done in the United States until recently, was unusual, he recognized. For Christians, opposition from the culture, not their culture’s agreement, was the historical norm. Further, as Jao noted, “an apathetic or somewhat antagonistic culture has never been the death of the Church.”

WARREN refuses to use the word “persecution” to describe InterVarsity’s experience—even as the Vanderbilt administrators kicked InterVarsity off campus and publicly compared Christian students to segregationists. “We were marginalized,” she says, “not persecuted.”

Still, it was sometimes difficult for students to deal with the vicious rhetoric. At Tufts, one Christian student broke down during a campus hearing as he described being called a bigot. At Rutgers, students were stunned when even some of their fellow Christians turned on them, accusing members of the Multi-Christian Fellowship of being “intolerant.” At Vanderbilt, students “working to cure cancer” (in Warren’s words) suddenly found themselves described as the moral equivalent of white supremacists. The result, however, was greater unity and greater faith. At Vanderbilt “students stepped up,” Warren said. “They decided to pray, [to] be unified, and to worship. I’ve seen the kind of unity I saw during that year.”

But while the culture war came for InterVarsity, its students and staff decided they would not become culture warriors. In other words, they would not change or politicize the mission or purpose of the organization to defeat the threat. As a politically and racially diverse organization—often InterVarsity chapters are the only majority-minority religious organizations on campus—they viewed themselves as uniquely positioned to engage the administration and the wider campus.



## Does This Dress Make Me Look Oppressive?



Text

My wife was standing on the shore of the hoop skirts at social events, and an August Washington Post opinion piece tells us why: Mississippi when the paddlewheel boat thrashed 'round the bend. She saw throngs of men in dark suits on the deck, standing at the railing, impassive. They all wore dark hats. At this point I had to interrupt and say, "I'm sorry, but this is a *Twilight Zone* episode. You saw the ship of the dead, lost in time." She said she wondered if the dark suits meant they were all Hasidic Jews on an outing, but no, it was the Sabbath. Any other day, sure, you're bound to see a paddle boat full of guys from the shul cruising down the Mighty Miss, but today?

Then she saw a woman in a long broad dress, waving. Something out of the 19th century. The men's suits now looked lighter in the sun; a particular blue. But they were all the same color. The boat chugged past and headed south.

When she drove home she heard an explanation on the radio. At this point I had to interrupt and say, "I'm sorry, but radio broadcasts that tidy up loose plot threads only pen on *Gilligan's Island*." But no, really: The radio said the 19th century and, by extension, forced them to contemplate any number of centuries. And you know what? That must have been it.

So where were the protests? Ah, you say, the Civil War issue was settled a few months ago when everyone agreed that the Confederate Hate Rectangle must be expunged lest its particular arrangement of colors and shapes ignite the type that constitutes the modern collegian. So: another lunatic. Well, I'm not here to defend Johnny Schembreros are out, as they play to stereotypes that assume My great-grandfather lay wounded at Gettysburg for days until he remembered that he had some special white cream on his feet, and marched off to North Dakota to impose pagarchy all over some fallow land. But I wonder if that paddle boat trip shouldn't be banned.

The uniforms, of course, encourage reverence for miling of well-being, particularly if nitrous oxide is pumped tarism and strengthen the idea that force solves anything.

The boat's wheel disturbs the water, and hence confuse fish, which might swim into its blades and be chopped up. Once we have done away with clothes, we can get to fish, which might swim into its blades and be chopped up. problematic food, such as the croissant. Here's a pastry (Note: Birds minced by wind-turbine blades are a completely different matter; you can think of them as sacrifices to Gaia, who smiles on our efforts to go green.) The diers may have been on the winning side of the Civil War—to use the tired old notion that anyone can resolve a "win" a war—but the sight of the Blues brings to mind a thought of the Grays, who fought for a racist cause. A Bad Thing can trigger a negative reaction, but a Good Thing can be worse because then it's, like, denying the existence of the Bad Thing.

And everything before 1968 is a Bad Thing. But there's another reason for banning the reenactment boat ride. That woman. That dress. It could have been a hoop skirt. Last spring, the University of Georgia banned gay people?

Mr. Lileks blogs at [www.lileks.com](http://www.lileks.com).

Huh. I didn't know he was a photographer. C NR



# The Long View

BY ROB LONG



Text

## *From the Dream Journal of Joseph Biden, Vice President of the United States*

a clothing-optional candidacy some - highlights an insecurity that I feel  
thing worth exploring? during my encounters with OTUS,

and it's clearly something that  
weighs on me and affects my sleep

TUESDAY, bad sleep, tossed and patterns. 3) Need to ask Dr. Jill  
turned. Hit snooze button three Biden about the pantsuit. Can't fig-  
times. Dr. Jill Biden informed me ure that one out.

that several times during the night I  
sat bolt upright in bed and began

singing a version of Taylor Swift's WEDNESDAY, regular sleep. Woke  
"Bad Blood" in what sounded like with the alarm. Did not hit snooze  
a fake southern accent. (Note to button. Dr. Jill Biden reports no  
self: Need to research who Taylor nighttime singing. What I remem-

MONDAY, slept well. Woke Swift is and listen to that song.)ber from my dream: I am in a hot  
before the alarm. Here is what IWhat I remember from my dream: tub or Jacuzzi-like spa environment  
remember from my dream: I was being in a conference room looking with German chancellor Angela  
covered in a kind of lightly scent-at graphs and tables and polling Merkel and we are giving each  
ed oil—it wasn't baby oil, that Iresults and someone telling me, other highly sensual massages  
would have recognized—but some "Joe, this is just how much peoplewhile discussing the recent nuclear  
other kind of aromatic oil—and I hate you" and then everyone laugh-exchange between Iran and Israel,  
was moving through a crowd ofing and laughing and then I keptwhich means this dream is a dream  
people and they were all grabbing saying, "Wait, is that a joke? Arefrom the future, which is weird, in  
at me and trying to pull me downyou guys kidding? What's the deal which I amOTUS, and then sudden-  
but the slickness of the oil and myhere?" And they said, "No, no, it'sly we're both in fluffy robes and sit-  
natural limberness kept me from a joke, people love you, you can bating in mani-pedi chairs with other  
being entrapped and I slipped the big guy," and then suddenlymembers of NATO and we're not  
through them, gaining speed and Barack Obama was there and he talking about the nuclear exchange  
momentum as I did, as if beinghad a basketball and he threw it abecause it hasn't happened yet, or  
squeezed naked through a crowd me, but really aggressively the way something, it's not really clear, but  
of people. What do kids call this?sometimes people do, and he kept we're all of us very concerned  
Is this a "mosh pit"? Need to rethrowing it hard at me and it hurtabout what we keep calling "the  
search this more fully. my fingertips but I didn't want toevents" and then I'm on Air Force

I don't remember any particular say anything, and he kept throwing One and for some reason there's a  
ending to the movement, just the it harder and harder and harder andcake and I'm supposed to sign a  
sense of my naked and oiled bodyit really hurt and I could feel thepresidential pardon for Hillary  
being propelled forward by a tears welling up in my eyes, and hClinton, who is either in jail or  
large crowd. said, "What's wrong, Joe? Gonna about to go to jail—it isn't clear,

QUESTIONS 1) What kind of oil cry? Gonna cry, Crybaby Joe?" sort of like what happened between  
was it and is it available either viaAnd then the ball hit me in the faceIran and Israel or me and Angela in  
Amazon or locally? 2) At first theand everyone was laughing and the hot tub—and I'm trying to sort  
crowds pulling at me seemed sin- suddenly I was being strangled by ait all out when I'm suddenly so  
ister but later it was clear theyred pantsuit. tired that I fall asleep in the chair,

were actually giving me energy, QUESTIONS 1) Do my pollsters right as I'm being interviewed by  
pushing me forward. What does laugh at me behind my back? Am the late David Brinkley, both of us,  
this mean? 3) As I ponder mygetting the complete numbers I by the way, dressed as wrestlers  
political future, what does this need to make the decisions I needfrom the 1950s.

dream mean, as regards my natural to be making? 2) Need to work on QUESTIONS None. Self-  
level of comfort with my body? Ismy basketball skills, as this dream explanatory.

# Books, Arts & Manners

## The Long, Hot Summer Of '68

JAMES ROSEN

**I**F you were an alert reader of the November 6, 2000 issue of the NATIONAL REVIEW, the conservative journal founded by William Buckley Jr., you might have turned to the final page, refreshed from another service of cogent thought and elegant prospect find, on the back cover, a truly shocking sight: a full-page ad for Absolut vodka featuring a color portrait, taken by Annie Leibovitz, of the far-left novelist and provocateur Gore Vidal.

How could this be? I wondered at the time. Wasn't Vidal, in the superhero terminology of my youth, WFB's arch nemesis? Hadn't the two men clashed spectacularly on television, in print, and in the federal courts, keeping up, over three decades' time, the century's longest-running and most acrimonious literary feud? How could Buckley possibly allow his magazine to be given over to flattering image of that man—now gray and paunchy, gaze averted, right index finger pressed eruditely to temple though Gore Vidal, within the precincts of the NATIONAL REVIEW, were any innocuous figure from the world of advertising, like Juan Valdez or Cap'n Crunch?

Within a few days I had the chance to ask Buckley myself. We were seated at his East 73rd Street maisonette, three News cameras surrounding us, for an hour-long interview granted, at my request, to mark not celebrate, he noted wearily—his 75th birthday. WFB, too, was now gray and paunchy. Buckley almost a decade earlier had awarded me a grant to begin research on a book about the Nixon presidency, but our contacts thereafter had been sporadic. As an interviewer, I knew that asking William

Buckley Jr. about Gore Vidal was something that was Simply Not Done and the same time, something that Simply Had to Be Done. I didn't—

My opening arrived after a colloquy on the perils of meeting one's hero, which had once led my host to forego audience with Evelyn Waugh. "I'm terribly glad I did," Buckley told me, "because I think he's such a magnificent person/writer/presence—but really sort you be open to that prospect?" Of an ugly man. And I think experiential tends to bear out, at least half the time, that famous people are not very pleasant. "It hasn't been my experience," I assured him. "Well, that's a fair point," he replied. WFB was forthright on the subject altogether, treating me, in so doing, to a trademark Absolut experience with him and perhaps to the recent surgery that had left his left ear bloodied and stitched, sealed by our camera placement.

Except that the chapter never really closed. When Buckley died, in February 2008, at 82, Vidal—who had been writing openly about his homosexuality since the 1940s and was a tireless champion, in and out of his work, of a strain of absolute liberalism—Nervous laughter, followed by my Serious Newscaster's voice, jokingly announced the program's abrupt end upon William F. Buckley's grave. In what must rank among the most bilious obituaries ever published, Vidal falsely asserted that WFB "was often drunk and out of control," insinuated that he was a closeted homosexual ("a hysterical queen"), and labeled him "dishonorable . . . a spontaneous liar on any subject that his dizzy brain might extrude." "RIP WFB in hell," Vidal signed off but not before assailing WFB's grieving child, the novelist Christopher Buckley, as "creepy" and "brain-dead."

Encouragement: WFB's playful response to Latin, and his return to the closet that had pervaded his televised clashes

Mr. Rosen is the chief Washington correspondent of Fox News.



"I know Buckley had a file on him *yahting*, and *do his thing*. Vidal, by *atives of human greed*." By the second Gore feared," Steers said. The *paper* contrast, prepared like an assassin. *H* debate, Vidal's disrespect for the rules also quoted Vidal's half-sister, Nina hired a researcher, typed and practiced wakened even the sleepy Smith: "Let Straight—who had loaned Vidal \$1 mil his zingers, dressed for success, and Mr. Buckley finish his sentence."

lion to prosecute the lawsuits with *ilently* resolved to respect none of the When Vidal began a quote from one of Buckley, never repaid—as saying that formal rules of debate that constrained Buckley's columns but huffily refused to the conduct in question was akin *his* opponent.

"Jerry Sandusky acts." utter the words NATIONAL REVIEW, Buck -

Compounding matters was the exceed-ley grinned: "We know that you'd like Around that same time, Christopher *ingly* modest view taken by ABC anchor *othing* to sully your lips." Vidal chortled Buckley reported having excavated from man Howard K. Smith of the role of *able* shot back lustily: "You'll eat it first." WFB's disarrayed study a filing cabinet *oderator*. The combat *as'* isolation After Vidal again spoke of "your rather "bursting to the seams" and labeled from Responsible Authority was pro-bloodthirsty neurosis," WFB diagnosed "VIDAL LEGAL." "Into the dumpster *itnounced*, with WFB and Vidal seated Vidal's "spiritual world of stagnation," went," Christopher wrote *The New* beside each other at the opposite end *then* gave voice to the *irre*soluble problem Republic, "and I still remember the sight *thof* studio from Smith, before a *che*ape conservative faced in engaging a backdrop, separated only by a *coff*eworld-class provocateur who proudly table. They were mostly allowed to go *impugned* not just the Republican party each other without interruption, absent but the United States. "Mr. Vidal, I have

**N**ow from Magnolia Pictures comes the organizing or restraining influence *ofo* doubt that there is somebody in the breezy 88-minute documen- a skillful moderator.

Haight-Ashbury or Greenwich Village *ary Best of Enemies*. Uti lizing Naturally, things devolved swiftly. who considers that your caricature is archival film, still *photographs*, contem- The shattering moment for *hich* fetching. I don't," Buckley said. "I was poraneous news clips and outtakes, origi Buckley-Vidal is chiefly remembered invited here, and am prepared, to try to nal interviews, and of course footage from *mutually* came in *thirteenth* of ten televised talk about the Republican convention. But the televised debates that rocked America *debates* the two men held across the *I68* maintain *ah* it's very difficult to do so filmmakers Robert Gordon and Morgan *conventions*. *Best of Enemies* helpfully when you have somebody like this, who Neville neatly capture the characters *draws* on almost all of them, vivid *will* speak in such burps. *And* *akes* to and controversy these literati somewhat *exposing* the dynamics on display *fo*be naughty."

improbably embodied. While this is *most* of this Mid-Century Modern version The film's climax, of course, is the two thoroughly modern documentary *beau-* of Lincoln-Douglas. Even as the film *men's* epic 22-minute confrontation on tifully framed and stylishly edited, with *declares* Vidal the winner, we are *co*the night of August 28, 1968. The net- an amusing score evoking the *insidio* fronted with ample evidence of *hi*works had just carried live coverage of a beeping-and-humming sounds of the underhandedness as a *debter* and, cor- full-on police riot, nightsticks flying, *Clockwork Orange* era—it deftly cata- respondingly, with the recurring *and* against anti-war demonstrators in the pulsts the viewer back in time, to *highly* unusual sight of WFB at sea, *ast*reets and parklands of Chicago. The tumultuous 1960s: the passions *and* were—knocked off his stride by an *opp*sickening scenes left both commentators polemics that surrounded LBJ, Nixon, *nent* who reveled in playing dirty *visibly* angry and eager to take it out on Vietnam, political assassinations, race *Gamely*, if naively, Buckley struggled *teach* other. Vidal likened Chicago to the riots, and the counterculture, a *period* impose on the unwieldy exchanges, *is* Soviet Union, prompting Buckley to cau- when the Republic herself seemed to *the* face of Howard K. Smith's *abdiction* Vidal—and ABC News *against* coming undone.

Amid all that, in the riotous summer *under* which WFB was used to *comp*table acts" of some policemen a case that 1968 and with little left to lose in *their* returning the discussions to the *con*there was "implicit totalitarianism in the hapless *p*usuit of Walter Cronkite *at*ventions, systematically deconstructing American system."

CBS News and Huntley-Brinkley *at* Vidal's rhetoric—until finally Buckley By choosing in this heated moment NBC News, the suits at ABC News *accumbed*, in anger, to provocations *as* defend America, her president, and signed Buckley and Vidal—for \$10,000 *vicious* and direct as those outside the *the* Chicago police force, WFB was, in each (about \$70,000 today) *to* serve as dios, on the streets of Miami and Chicago *retorical* terms, doing something quite commentators at the Republican and Thus we see Vidal as the first to *im*oble: putting country ahead of cause. Demo cratic conventions. Competitors *rupt* his opponent, the first to *personaliz*ed. After all, the political villains of Chicago, denounced ABC's gimmickry.

the exchanges ("your kind of odd *neur*byndon Johnson and Mayor Richard The concerned party who took *this*"), and the first to deny the other *fel*Daley, were both machine Democrats, enterprise most seriously was Vidal. *his* very right to exist: He *opened* *and* Buckley could have settled simply for Buckley mistakenly approached the *ses-describing* Republicans as "a political *scoring* points against the opposing party; sions as another in the *long* *flim* *pub-* party based almost entirely upon *hum* *but* as a movement conservative, he was lic debates he had already conducted *ongreed*." WFB immediately returned *them*ore dedicated to the bedrock principle the national stage, with the likes *favor*, saying: "It seems to me that *the* law and order, *and* *was* a patriot Norman Mailer and James Baldwin, *th*author of *Myra Breckinridge* [Vidal's where Vidal was an expatriate.

kind of event for which WFB *reckoned* *bestselling* 1968 novel about a trans -Belying all that, however, was Buck - he could just show up, after a *week* *se* *ocial*] is well acquainted with the *imp* *de*y's fiercer tone and facial expression

than in the previous sessions: Anger was visibly consuming him. Below is my transcription of the critical exchange, as it appears in the slightly edited form in which *Best of Enemies* presented it:

WFB: If we could all work up an equal sweat, and if you all would be obliging enough to have your cameras handy every time a politician commits demagoguery, or every time a labor union beats up people who refuse to join his unions, then maybe we could work up some kind of impartiality in resentment.

VIDAL: These people [the protesters] came here with no desire other than anybody's ever been able to prove than to hold peaceful demonstrations.

WFB: I can prove it. I can prove it. I was fourteen windows above that gang last night, and the chat between eleven o'clock and five o'clock this morning, from four or five thousand voices, was sheer, utter obscenities directed at the president of the United States. I say it is remarkable that there was as much restraint shown as was shown, for instance, last night by cops who were out there for seventeen hours without inflicting a single wound on a single person, even though that kind of disgusting stuff was being thrown at them, and at all of American society.

Here something jolted Smith, the anchorman—one of the famous “Murrow

Boys” who had covered Nazi Germany and personally interviewed Hitler into action. “Mr. Vidal, wasn't it a provocative act to try to raise the Viet Cong flag in the park, in the film we just saw?” Smith asked. “Raising a Nazi flag in World War II would have had similar consequences.”

Smith's intervention pleased WFB—he can be seen responding and smiling appreciatively at Smith, as if to say “You get it!” but Vidal drowns out WFB. It was this intervention, however, that introduced the term “Nazi” into this climactic debate and thereby sent it hurtling into depravity—and immortality.

VIDAL: People in the United States who happen to believe that United States policy is wrong in Vietnam and the Viet Cong are correct in wanting to organize their country in their own way politically. If it is a novelty in Chicago, that is too bad! But I assume that the point of the American democracy is you can express any point of view you want to—

WFB: And some people were pro-Nazi, too. Some people were pro-Nazi—

VIDAL: Shut up a minute!

WFB: No, I won't! Some people were pro-Nazi, and the answer is that they were—they were well treated by people who ostracized them. And I'm for ostracizing people who egg on other people to shoot American Marines and American soldiers. I know you don't care, because

you don't have any sense of identification [crosstalk]—

VIDAL: As far as I'm concerned, the only sort of pro- or crypto-Nazi I can think of is yourself. Failing that, I will only say that if we can't have the right of assembly—

SMITH: Let's, let's, let's not call names—

WFB: Now listen, you queer—stop calling me a crypto-Nazi or I'll sock you in your goddamn face and you'll stay plastered!

SMITH: Let's, let's stop calling names and let's get—gentlemen, let's—

VIDAL: Oh, Bill.

WFB: Let the author of *Myra Breckinridge* go back to his pornography and stop making any allusions of Nazism to somebody who was in the infantry in the last war—

SMITH: I beg you to—

VIDAL: You were not in the infantry, as a matter of fact—[crosstalk]

As a matter of fact, WFB served as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army in World War II but did not serve overseas.

Unquestionably, the Buckley–Vidal confrontation shocked America; never before had 10 million people witnessed anything like it on live TV. A decade later, *New York* magazine would rank the debates as one of the greatest moments in the history of television to date, right



COURTESY OF SAN FRANCISCO FILM SOCIETY



# DAY #4 ON THE NR 2016 DANUBE RIVER CRUISE

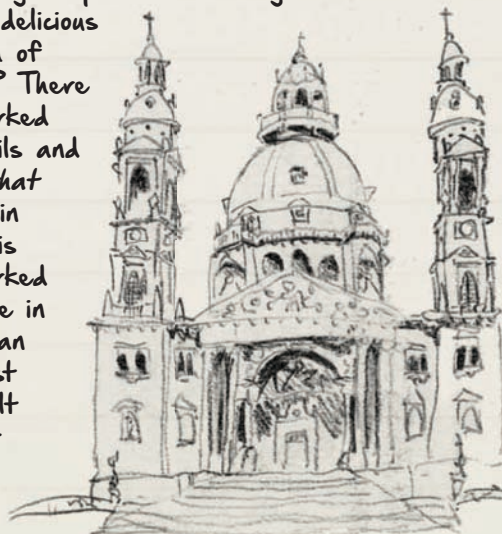
Well, after four nights on the Sonata, you wouldn't have known that Mary and I once thought we "weren't cruisers." Good thing Jane and Mike convinced us to really check out those NR magazine cruise ads we'd looked at for years. They always sounded like fun. It had been ages since they ran one of those European river trips, and we'd always wanted to go on one, especially the Danube, so when we saw the ad for the Danube trip we said, let's do it. Called the Larsons. Turns out they were about to call us, so a foursome it is. Man oh man did we ever make the right decision! This trip is terrific. The pre-cruise stay in Prague was really a special three days for us. The ship is beautiful, ditto for the cabin, the food is way past delicious (I can't get enough of the soups). And we've made a bunch of new friends, including some NR speakers. Find quiet places? There are plenty, so you can read, write ... draw! When we embarked



Beth - I'm up on the Sun Deck w/ the Larsons and 2 bottles of wine and the most spectacular views of Austria ... inside the safe (I forgot the code!) are two Upmann cigars - I promised one to Jonah at dinner

Last night - could you bring it up?  
- btw, tonight we're having dinner w/ Charles Murray! and ...  
- I bumped into Kevin Williamson and he wants to join us on the Salzburg excursion tomorrow  
- This cruise is the best!!

Mary gave me pencils and this notebook and that look. So yesterday in Bratislava I saw this gorgeous church, parked myself in the square in front of it and began drawing for the first time in years. It felt wonderful: Turns out the old art major has still got it!



## MORNING PANEL

So far every seminar session has kicked off with a fascinating one-on-one interview. This morning's -- Jay Nordlinger quizzing Charles Murray about his book *By the People* (which he inscribed for dad!) -- was fascinating, and Jay's way of getting to the heart of any matter is a sight to see. Next came an hour-plus panel with Rich Lowry, Mona Charen, and Jonah Goldberg analyzing the state of the conservative movement. Each one was smart and funny. We watched it sitting next to Cal Thomas and his wife and afterwards started chatting about Calvin Coolidge and Broadway musicals and before you knew it we were all having lunch together.

## SCENIC CRUISING

Yep, it's tough having a delicious meal that comes with the utterly spectacular views of the Danube -- vineyards on the left bank, an old castle atop a hill next to a Gothic church on the right -- as your backdrop. Got to admit that as a city boy I love the Danube's system of locks. Anyway after lunch I went up onto the Sun Deck, where it was all sunshine and gentle breezes. I spotted



another NR passenger, Carmine from upstate New York, eyeing the chess board. He looked at me and said, "Wanna play?" So we did, and had lots of laughs ... and I never saw that checkmate coming! But I did see Mary coming from where she'd been taking photos of the kind of countryside you just don't see in Dallas, and she looked so genuinely happy, so radiant, so relaxed, so beautiful. Damn excellent idea this trip!

**AFTERNOON PANEL** Where to start? John O'Sullivan, David Pryce-Jones, and Charlie Cooke went all-accent on us in a brilliant session on the U.K. -- it's relationship with the EU, with the USA, how the Tories were doing, their take on UKIP, and so much more. And that was followed by a "conversation" between Charlie and Kevin Williamson on ... the Second Amendment (we were shocked the EU authorities didn't board the Sonata to stop us from talking about guns!). I'm running out of adjectives: Like everything else we've heard so far, it was a witty and meaningful discussion.



**COCKTAIL RECEPTION** And the day was far far from over. Back up on the Sun Deck we had our second NR cocktail reception of the cruise. Everything about it was top-notch, and we fell in with a passel listening to Jonah talk about the huge time commitment it takes to write a book, and then Rich Lowry joined us and before you knew it we had discussed the Yankees, Rubio, Lincoln, and Bill Buckley's driving techniques. Then it was off to another sumptuous dinner (Mona was at our table, so there were more Buckley stories, each one better than the one before!).



### VIENNA!

While having coffee we reached Austria's capital. Awaiting us at the landing were busses and guides: Off we went on a post-dessert "Viennese Wine and Music" excursion to this rustic tavern where we enjoyed newly pressed wine and awesome local music. Yeah, it seemed at first a touch kitschy, but it turned out to be a blast. Everyone was singing. The camaraderie wasn't something I was expecting of this trip, but it's here, it's very real. To be on this luxurious chartered ship with 150 people, enjoying amazing sites and cities and discussions, with NR writers I've always loved ... just, WOW! And to think the next few days will be more of the same.



**DON'T MISS NR'S 2016 DANUBE CRUISE!**  
**PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, BRATISLAVA, VIENNA, DURNSTEIN, PASSAU,**  
**LINZ, VILSHOFEN . AMAWATERWAYS SONATA . MAY 6-16, 2016**  
**WWW.NRCRUISE.COM • 1.888.283.8965**  
**ACT NOW: PRICES START AT JUST \$4,599 A PERSON!**

up there with the moon landing and the Beatles on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. In *Best of Enemies*, Linda Bridges, a longtime NATIONAL REVIEW editor and Buckley confidant, recalls how her boss was “shaken that he had reacted that way” to Vidal’s provocations. Reid Buckley, Bill’s brother, aptly notes that in the generation after V-E Day, being called a Nazi was no less a “slur” than being called a “queer.”

Dueling essays by Buckley and Vidal in *Esquire* ensued, in the summer of 1969, followed by Buckley’s defamation suit and Vidal’s counter-suit; but it was all for naught. The lawsuits ended inconclusively, and history recorded the affair, and continues to do so here, exactly as Buckley feared: The famously urbane wit and champion debater, conservative upholder of *order* no less than *law*, lost his temper

with the same discourse we have today had Buckley and Vidal never met.

So we *needed* a good documentary about Buckley and Vidal—far more than the tepid relationship between WFB and Norman Mailer, who appears in *Best of Enemies* from time to time, warranted the recent book published on that subject—and the filmmakers deserve credit for recognizing as much. They probably believe they strove for true fairness and balance, interviewing partisans of both combatants, portraying both men as equally haunted by the great events of 1968. But the final product suffers the very biases, unstated yet unmistakable, against which WFB aimed from the beginning to stand athwart history, yelling stop.

Cases in point: Gordon and Neville endorse the false notion that Richard

*The Jack Paar Tonight Show* that witnessed elaborate misrepresentations of WFB’s positions—a fact the viewers of this film couldn’t know because, oddly, the director used only silent footage of Vidal and Buckley appearing on Paar’s set. Two years later, WFB had an unpleasant exchange with Vidal during a joint TV appearance at the GOP convention in San Francisco (Vidal admittedly “egged him on”).

By 1968, when ABC News asked Buckley whether there was anyone alongside whom he would *not* appear, he specified only one name: Gore Vidal. Buckley later claimed that ABC announced the toxic pairing without informing him in advance. Yet WFB was a man of means for whom \$10,000, even then, didn’t amount to all *that* much money, and he could easily have with-

## *Best of Enemies* suffers the very biases, unstated yet unmistakable, against which WFB aimed from the beginning to stand athwart history, yelling stop.

and committed the unpardonable sin, in the McLuhan age, of exhibiting hotness in a cool medium. WFB had, in short, allowed Vidal to ensconce himself, as the latter’s friend and editor Matt Tyrnauer notes here, “under Bill Buckley’s skin.”

The film closes with all kinds of theorizing—that WFB may really have been the “hysterical queen” Vidal made him out to be, that the Buckley–Vidal clash ushered in the politics and discourse we have today in America and on cable news, respectively. The former (cracked) theory is dispelled convincingly by intimates of WFB; the latter, illustrated here with distorted images of Bill O’Reilly and Rachel Maddow, has become accepted lore in the history of television and the news media.

Certainly, programmers outside ABC took note of the riveting tension, and improved ratings, generated by Buckley–Vidal; and it is unquestionably true that the frequency with which TV debating partners came nearly to blows rose sharply in the decades that followed, to the point where no one much noticed it any more. By the same token, it hardly requires wholesale embrace of the concept of historical inevitability to imagine that we would probably have wound up

Nixon’s winning campaign theme of 1968, “law and order,” a logical reaction to the escalating disorders of the ’60s, was nothing more than thinly disguised race-baiting. And beneath an interviewee’s description of debating as “blood sport,” we see only the image of Buckley, even though *Best of Enemies* painstakingly exposes Vidal as the more unrestrained, unprincipled combatant. Some insight into the filmmakers’ early conception of the project, a telling clue as to which of the two debaters they regarded as preeminent, may be gleaned from an outtake that was included in the final cut—a device employed throughout, presumably for aesthetic reasons—in which a pair of anonymous hands can be seen clapping one of those striped Hollywood director’s boxes in front of the face of an interviewee (left-wing historian Todd Gitlin). Scrawled on the box in black Sharpie, in the space reserved for the title, was “VIDAL V. BUCKLEY.”

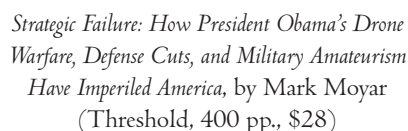
ONE mystery not addressed is why WFB went forward with the programs at all. He’d had previous nasty run-ins with Vidal. The first came in 1962, via sequential appearances on

drawn upon learning of Vidal’s involvement, citing breach of understanding by ABC. Perhaps Buckley feared the appearance of ducking Vidal, or perhaps deep down he relished the opportunity to defenestrate his nemesis on nationwide television. It was a question I didn’t get to ask Buckley in our interview.

Howard K. Smith was the first to sum up the great clash, after he finally reasserted control over the proceedings—he lamented the heat shed instead of light, but still proclaimed the debates “worth hearing.” *Esquire* editor Harold Hayes, who had solicited the dueling and litigious essays by both men that appeared in his magazine’s pages, wrote in a 1970 anthology titled “Smiling through the Apocalypse” that the duel provided “as appropriate a conclusion to the Sixties as any other.” In the Buckley–Vidal confrontation, Hayes saw distilled “the bitterness, jealousy, ambition, and despair of two of our most eloquent sensibilities—the character of America’s collective confusion.” WFB himself aimed lower, but manfully did not excuse himself from his own verdict, rendered in *Esquire*: “Excessive bitchery can get out of hand.”

NR





In 1999, after five years of draconian budget cuts to the military and a Clintonian strategy of chasing things on the strategic periphery of America's interests, I wrote a cover story about military (un)readiness. The story gained some traction with political

er-Daniel Patrick Moynihan usefully not only worsened in an Iraq hastily reminded us that everyone is entitled abandoned to fulfill Obama's cam-  
bhis own opinion, but not to his own pledge; it has also metastasized  
lfacts. Thankfully for the current Rento Syria and Yemen. ISIS is one re  
ppublican presidential candidates (all ofult of this strategic neglect: We and  
whom are short on national-securityour allies now have to worry not just  
the decision-making experience, even if about terrorist cells in the region but  
y their instincts are sound), Mark Moyar also about a savage terrorist state at the  
new book provides a compendium heart of Mesopotamia. An emboldened  
the national-security facts and a ratione (now super-emboldened with a  
gile if pointed, analysis of how those deal that rewards its bad behav-  
facts add up to a picture of American further destabilizes the region by

standing in the world” with his overly “Leading from behind” turns out not to be as progressive and unilateral foreign policy to inspire allies to pick up the slack (or not). That was a common perception, to be allies, for that matter). Funny how sure, but it was common mostly among U.S. strength and determination among our smarmier European friends. Obama during the period of our “lowered standards” as measuring America’s “standing” by” prompted 40 other countries to con-



tribute troops in support of military The Obama team hoped to beat mili-it. We gain no intelligence, and make operations in Iraq a decade ago (an addi-tant Islamists on the cheap—frantically new enemies in the process. tional 30-plus joined the global war ondisengaging from Mideast war zones The president has a coherent grand terrorism). The kinder, gentler America and trying to manage strategy via strategy: He believes in the inevitability of 2015 has fewer countries helping indrone strikes. This resulted in the rise of American decline, he welcomes it as the good war in Afghanistan than Bush of ISIS, among other bad outcomes. a moral necessity for the world, and he had during the bad war in Iraq. LoweredOur human-intelligence capabilities therefore tries to accelerate this de- standing, vocal disavowal of American (once staffed on the front lines incline. Moyar points out the geopoliti- exceptionalism and abandonment of Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Paki- cal cost of this attitude, and also details American leadership, and dramatically stan by huge multi-agency intelligence how it has manifested itself in the reduced means have a way of not attract-operations) are shut down, much re-material decline of American military ing followers. duced, or seriously handicapped. The capability. Conventional forces have

*That's all dated Kissingerian geopo- political thinking, a defender of Obama might reply. This administration killed bin Laden and has kept America safe from terrorism. Moyar takes on this short-sighted attitude and exposes the falsity of the administration's claim with drones when we can (although, damning chapters give blow-by-blow that its light-footprint approach to foreign policy and counterterrorism is a drone-kill "successes" have been low- realistic way of keeping America safe. level Taliban fighters) and crow about*

administration is so frozen by its em- been slashed and nuclear stockpiles barrassment about Guantanamo that it willfully neglected, technology has declines to capture and question terror- been forgone (the U.S. now cannot ists and has no effective policy orlaunch a heavy satellite into space with- accepted body of law for treating de- out a Russian rocket engine), and morale tainees. Therefore, we kill terrorists has decreased. The most depressing and with drones when we can (although, damning chapters give blow-by-blow Moyar points out, 90 percent of thoseaccounts of the rank amateurism and political maneuvering of Obama's White House—facts brought forth to us in memoirs by two of Obama's secre- taries of defense, among others, but painful to see again.

Like many conservatives, I am thrilling to the breadth and depth of the field of GOP presidential candidates (no, not you, Mr. Trump). Almost any of them would be better—by miles—than Obama, as a strategist and a commander-in-chief. Even so, while they all make sounds about restoring American strength on the world stage, none has really embraced a comprehensive and coherent strategy of re-engagement abroad—a strategy that would include inflicting a catastrophic military defeat on ISIS, confronting Iranian, Russian, and Chinese aggression, and rebuilding U.S. military capabilities. Among the candidates, there are more than a few intelligent hawks who believe in American power and exceptionalism—no doubt. But they seem to feel a bit trapped by the 2008 electoral backlash against Bush's over-investment in the Middle East, and, while they are willing to commit to admirable sentiments about American power, they have not internalized the truth that they may have to sell hard and potentially costly policies. It remains to be seen whether they have the policy and strategy ideas, passion, and argumentative skill to commit America to a "surge" of sorts on the geo political landscape.

Moyar has a blueprint for them, if they want it. **NR**

## ORPHAN

What was I looking for in that room  
Crowded with old books, shelves so full,  
It seemed they could not hold another title,  
Except where in places a weary volume  
Leaned upon its neighbor's crooked spine?  
Some dimly remembered novel or poem  
I once read and loved, or dreamed of?  
Either a real book or the book of dreams  
A friend once advised me to record:  
*Write upon waking, the dreams will come*  
*If you wait and listen, word for word.*  
And night and day must be reconciled  
Like mother and father, parent and child,  
Brother and sister, lovers who have quarreled.

Although I never did as I was told,  
I have met the morning every day I could,  
Shaken the darkness, come to the table,  
Truly grateful for what fare was offered,  
Bran or manna, ambrosia or bread,  
A sentence, a tragedy, or a kind word.  
And now, almost sixty and an orphan—  
As nature would have it—I am the age  
My father was when he died. Every day  
Seems to me it might be the final one.  
Pressed for time to make peace with the past,  
I look for a book so broad-backed and strong  
That it will stand up on the shelf alone.

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN



Text



# Rewriting Beethoven

JAY NORDLINGER

Salzburg

It's really hot here, as everyone keeps pointing out. The weather may be the most boring subject in the world, but sometimes you can't avoid it. A local lady told me, "This is the hottest summer we've had in 200 years"—that would be about 25 years after Mozart, who was born and raised here, but during the life of Beethoven, for example.

Even in the best of times, the coolest of times, the halls are hot at the Salzburg Festival. The Grosser Saal of the Mozarteum, I long ago nicknamed the "Grosser Sauna." In all the halls this summer, patrons are sweating buckets, soaking their finery. Ladies beat fans determinedly.

Europeans like to knock air conditioning as a weird American vice, but a summer like this, in venues like these,

can make you appreciate that vice as never before.

Enough of complaining about the weather, on to complaining about the opera productions. This season, Salzburg is staging *Fidelio*, Beethoven's lone opera. He sweated over this piece as he did no other. He wrote no fewer than four overtures for it, trying to get it right. He got the overture right, and everything else too.

*Fidelio* is, among other things, one of the greatest paeans to political freedom in all of art. It is also one of the greatest paeans to love, and, specifically, to marital love.

Leonore applies to work in a prison, for she suspects that her husband, Florestan, is being kept there. Which turns out to be true. Florestan is a political prisoner of the corrupt, evil Pizarro. Leonore disguises herself as a young man and calls herself "Fidelio" (meaning the faithful one). At the last minute, Florestan is saved, Pizarro is vanquished, and husband and wife are reunited. Beethoven pours forth the white of C major. He bathes the stage, the ear, and the heart in light. Seldom is music so jubilant and affirmative. *Fidelio* is a work that expresses Beethoven's highest ideals.

Salzburg's new production is at variance with it. I hate to start an opera review with the production, and almost never do—for a production hogs enough attention as it is. Marilyn Horne (the great American mezzo-soprano) once said to me, "Critics spend the first two-thirds of their review on the production, and mention the singers at the end." But if a production takes over an opera, it probably has to take over your review, too.

And I might point out to Miss Horne, in self-defense, that I began this review with the weather . . .

For *Fidelio*, Salzburg engaged Claus Guth, a German stage director. He has a long history here. Deploring his production of Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro* in 2006, I wrote, "Salzburg has taught me something I never knew: that you can completely alter the story of an opera without changing a word of the libretto—simply by having the characters act in unprescribed and novel ways." I added, "If stage directors really want to create new operas, they should write their own. Their obsession with painting mustaches on Mona Lisas is both childish and reprehensible."

I did some more harrumphing in 2008, on the occasion of another Guth produc-



Jonas Kaufmann as Florestan in Salzburg's new production of Beethoven's *Fidelio*

tion of another Mozart opera. Reflecting on his field, architecture, I have often written of the Cult of *Don Giovanni*: “The point is, the production and Frank Lloyd Wright said, “A building Kaufmann. I don’t quite get it. He is a the opera don’t match. The director hasought to be a grace to its environment, fine tenor, and I have heard him give wrenched the opera away from the coma disgrace.” So it is with opera productions superb performances, as well as medio - poser and librettist.”

Enough of the production, for now—cre ones. He is probably the best Parsifal More harrumphing followed in later on to the music-makers. Conducting this (in Wagner’s opera of the same name) years. And now (at last) to the current affair is Franz Welser-Möst, who is we have. But a cult? tival, and the Guth *Fidelio*.

I do not deplore it wholesale. Guth and about 80 miles to the northeast. For there in this *Fidelio*. He is underpowered his team do interesting things with light past 14 years, he has been the music for the role: an essentially lyric tenor, and shadow. The production is noirish. director in Cleveland. He was also, until rather than a heroic one. (Incidentally, an The director eliminates Beethoven’s dia- recently, the music director of the Vienna historic heroic Florestan, Jon Vickers, logue, which is maybe not so bad—but his State Opera. Speaking of which, he died in July.) But he uses to maximum replaces it with long, silent pauses, which Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra serves in effect what he has. Nor did he strain, on are meant to be dramatic. Instead, they the pit for *Fidelio*.

this evening. His crescendo at the stick out like sore thumbs, stopping the On the night I attended, neither Welser-beginning of Florestan’s monologue—opera (on which Beethoven worked so Möst nor the VPO had a particularly good Gott! Welch Dunkel hier!”—was mem- hard, to get right).

These pauses are not entirely silent and it achieved nothing like its emotional Guth’s plan to a T. Or so it seemed to either, for Guth employs big, amplified, impact. Near the beginning, the horns didne, from the seats.

spooky noises, which are fashionable in some stumbling, which is rare for the I will shaft the rest of the cast to return opera productions now. At one point, VPO. It almost made me homesick for the the production. Operas usually give there is a loud piercing noise, and I swear New York Philharmonic.

directors a lot of leeway. That is certainly that, at first, I thought a hearing aid had Welser-Möst did not improve as Act I *True of Fidelio*. But there is leeway and gone haywire, as often happens in concert proceeded. The orchestra was heavy, and there is hijacking.

halls and opera houses (where senior citizens are numerous). The A longtime patron here in Salzburg quartet (“Mir ist so wunderbar”) was reminisced almost tearfully about the

Leonore has a doppelgänger, dressed earthbound, missing its sublimity. The 1950s production of *Fidelio* by Herbert like her, who is constantly flashing her march to which Pizarro and his crew entered on Karajan (who of course conducted hands, in what appears to be sign language was hurried, missing its pomp, swagger, too). On the stage at the end, she said, you Why? I don’t know, and, frankly, I don’t and menace. Many onsets were faulty, saw the light and redemption of the music much care. I could probably crackle, which is, gain, rare for the VPO. and the story. Everything matched. This program, to see what the director or some- Yet Welser-Möst was never less than was Beethoven’s true *Fidelio*.

one else has to say. But I’m too stubborn inadequate, and he had a big moment in Now, we should beware nostalgia, to do that: I think that theater’s meaning Act II. So did Beethoven. The orchestra and we should recognize that some tra- should be fairly plain from the stage. I played another of those four over-ditions exist to be junked. But a modi - not think a play or opera should require—the one known as *Leonore No. cum of fidelity, in an opera production, Cliffs Notes—and this goes double or 3—as used to be done with some regis desirable, and needed.*

triple for a canonical work *Fidelio*. larity in *Fidelio*, but which is almost “The faddists are so clever,” said Lorin

When Florestan is saved, he and never done today. Here, Welser-Möst Maazel to me in a 2009 interview, Leonore do not reunite and exult, as conducted his heart out, and the VPO “because they paint you into a corner.” Beethoven conceives. They do what they played in like manner. They brought Their trick, he elaborated, is to say, “If director conceives. Evidently mad, the house down.

you object to us, you’re a conservative, Florestan recoils from Leonore. She The last pages of the opera, sad to you’re a fuddy-duddy, you’re a living sings, “Oh, what boundless happiness! say, did not shine, bathe, and uplift as an anachronism! What we do is new!” My husband in my arms!” He sings they should. They were fast, hard, and Maazel was a major conductor here in “Leonore in my arms! After untold sor- undifferentiated. But I could appreciate Salzburg, as he was all over the world. He rows, what surpassing joy!” But are they Welser-Möst’s energy, and it crossed my died last summer.

in each other’s arms? Of course not. That mind that he was trying to make up for, or it was because of “Euro-drečkas he would be “too much like right,” as an old distract from, the travesty on the stage. called it, that he stopped coming to southern friend of mine would say. They In the title role of Leonore, a.k.a. Salzburg. Guth and his *Fidelio* are not are apart, with Leonore looking on in *Fidelio*, was Adrienne Pieczonka, the Euro-dreck. Herr Guth is a serious and confusion and fear.

Canadian soprano. You have heard big talented man. But I wish he and his In the final scene, Florestan apparently Leonores, but few sincere and affect- confreres would apply their talents to rejects Leonore, probably out of madness. I had forgotten how moving “Komm new works—plays, operas, TV shows, rather than conscious choice. He then Hoffnung” can be. And Pieczonka’s voice videos?—of their own. If you don’t like appears to die. This is *Fidelio*. It is has plenty of cutting power.

Beethoven’s happy ending, don’t go to, or some other story. And it flatly contradicts Florestan was Jonas Kaufmann, the direct, Beethoven’s opera. (Which, not the music and the libretto. In fact, German tenor, a huge star over her that anyone asked, is, gun to my head, my negates these things, kills them. (and a big enough one in America, too favorite opera. Probably.)

NR



*Film*  
**Cruising  
Speed**

ROSS DOUTHAT

It's striking that the *Mission: Impossible* films, made across two decades in an ever-changing Hollywood, have all starred Tom Cruise. Even in this age of franchise costumed stars, it's hard to think of many actors who have been associated with the same character—be it a B

a Batman—for quite as long as Cruise has had for everything—every wild and the latest one, irrelevantly sub-  
 been playing the part of Ethan Hunt, however, every death-defying stunt. And “Rogue Nation,” is one of the best.  
 Especially an actor who was much, he is not afraid to let you see him. The plot is the usual: Misguided bureau-  
 bigger than the character when he is. Which is how it’s always been with (embodied by Alec Baldwin) want  
 took the role: Yes, Vin Diesel has Cruise the actor: His gift and curse to take him down the Impossible Missions  
 six of the *Fast and Furious* movies, that he’s always made the audience feel (the other IMF) for reckless  
 but Diesel needs the paychecks; very, aware of how hard he’s trying to know  
 Robert Downey Jr. has now played much he’s putting into every part, necessities, which is a Big Mistake  
 Man five times, but that part was intensely, madly, truly he wants to because there’s a super-villainous organi-  
 to his comeback. Whereas Cruise did the He’s not there to smolder or put on the loose, the so-called  
 first *M:I* film when he was at his absolute best do subtlety particularly well, Syndicate, led by a supervillain-y  
 peak, in the day of *Maguire* and mystery is beyond him. But he’s got Solomon Lane (Sean Harris), that only  
*The Firm* and *A Few Good Men*. And here make sure that you don’t look away Hunt can prevent from continuing to dis-  
 he is 20 years later still doing it. His best roles have found ways to play South Asian aircraft, among other  
 though he’s no longer quite as bankable this persona, to buffet it or subvert it acts of terror.  
 as he once was, the studios aren’t looking for *Maguire*, for which he probably the gang—Luther (Ving Rhames),  
 for a younger replacement; even though deserved an Oscar, was basically Benja (Simon Pegg), and Brandt (Jeremy  
 the part isn’t exactly the kind of “Why—if Tom Cruise got fired?” element—(Reamer)—is back to help him, and of  
 burnishing role that movie stars of this his vicious pickup artist course there’s a girl, a double or triple  
 vintage often look for, he keeps coming *Mingolia* was basically “What if Tagent with the movieland name of “Ilsa  
 back to it. Cruise used his powers for evil?”; he’s still—(Rebecca Ferguson), with whom

The best explanation—and this thoughtfully PR man in the recent, *Edge of Tomorrow*—is hardly original to me—is that Cruise is paired for set pieces, not sex: is that of *Tomorrow* was “What if Tom Cruise, multi-assassin set-to at a Viennese opera keeps playing Hunt because Hunt were secretly a coward?” multi-assassin set-to at a Viennese opera Cruise. The role is a perfect marriage and all his public-image problems, a deep dive to break into an movie-star persona and a cinematic *there* stemmed from moments—jumping underwater security system, and more. actor, and at this point it’s impossible the couch, the leaked Scientology. People liked the *Impossible* movie imagine any other actor in the part, video—when his star persona suddenly lot, mostly because of how capably the

Which is not because the role is ~~extra-~~ a little bit too real, like something Brad Bird, shot its set pieces ordinarily complicated, distinctive, deeper was actually diallo~~gn~~ for his (particularly a vertiginous Hunt assault Indeed, the whole point of Ethan Hunt~~ies~~ is like a psychosis in search of a Dubai's Burj Khalifa). But for my that he's a pure doer, with little ~~time~~ ~~moniker~~. ("Maverick Syndrome"?) money this one, helmed and scripted by romance, internal wrestling, or regretBut the*Mission: Impossible* movies the now-frequent Cruise collaborator The mission is impossible, but he's offering us the Cruise persona without Christopher McQuarrie, is the better to pull it off, and we're going to ~~complication~~ or apology. Hunt is the ~~movie~~ overall: more consistent, a little him do it. But not effortlessly, thing ~~is~~ a manifestation of destiny," a ~~more~~ interesting plot-wise, and lifted Bond or some other smoothie spy ~~trick~~; critic says near the end of the ~~interview~~ by Ferguson's unusually not in a winking way, à la the '80s ~~action~~, which sounds vaguely ~~live~~ vivid character. stars. No, the point of Hunt is ~~something~~ out *Dianetics*—but the So Cruise can breathe easy (if he ever though he's confident in his abilities, ~~whole~~ point of these movies is to ~~make~~ He ran the race, fought the fight, though at this point everyone around ~~him~~ believe in it, in him, in *Ham*, and this time, proved that he can still is *supremely* confident, he still has Cruise alike. close the deal. **NR**



*Tom Cruise in Mission: Impossible—Rogue Nation*



Text

## Poor Powerless Washington

**M**ANY of you looked the other way when Donald Trump accused illegal Mexican immigrants of being rapists and murder-ers, because you've had it up to here meant say over policymaking. This place is infested with those do-nothings in Washington. When he ddawyers, do-gooders, media, and public-relations types, meant John McCain's military service—only losersall of them proposing, writing, lobbying, commenting, get captured, of course—many of you shrugged bflacking, or dictating policy. Yet speak to the average cause a Trump candidacy means always telling it likeWashingtonian and you might get the impression that the is. And when he insinuated that cable-news favoritecity lives in the shadow of a momentous injustice. Megyn Kelly is some sort of “bimbo,” you let it slideHow the victims of this tyranny suffer! The District's because there's already far too much political correctpersonal income per resident is around \$75,000, according to a report from the city's chief financial officer. The We get it. You're angry. Surely, though, even the mostS. per capita personal income is around \$44,000. frustrated voter should concede thatme positions are Connecticut, second on the list, comes in around 25 percent beyond the pale. cent below the capital city. D.C. residents like to com-

In a recent interview *Meet the Press*, Chuck Todd plain about all the federal taxes they pay, but since asked the real-estate tycoon whether he believed WashingWashington produces nothing but laws and white papers, ton, D.C., deserved voting representatives in Congressconsider the city's perpetual economic boom a taxpayer-like the 50 states. After some of his predictable selfind gift that keeps giving. assured blathering, the 69-year-old offered no objection, I would like to believe that the Founders anticipated uttering the following words: “I would like to do whate the kind of people who would be drawn to a center of ever's good for the District of Columbia.” national power. It's indisputable, however, that they fully

Obviously, this kind of inanity should disqualify anyunderstood the influence a capital could have on the candidate from higher office—especially a candidatation. Since the federal government exercises powers over who's in the midst of pretending to be a conservativstates (now more than ever), allowing those who popu- Republican as he seeks the highest office. late the center of power to vote in a representative democ-

There are those of us living in Washington for whom they would only imbue whatever state the capital was in District of Columbia license-plate sloganAXTION WITH- with extraordinary sway to dominate the others, under- OUT REPRESENTATION, is a refreshing reminder that our statishining federalism. The only thing worse than endowing technocratic neighbors are thankfully unable to fully particia state with this kind of disproportionate authority would pate in the democratic process. Most residents, thoughbe to create a capital city and treat it as if it were a state regard the slogan as a summation of a compelling contenof- its own.

porary grievance. Which is weird. Because there are fewA few years back, the Inter-American Commission on things less convincing than listening to a WashingtonianHuman Rights—a group including such nations as Bolivia whine about disenfranchisement. and Venezuela—found that the United States was in viola-

As you probably know, the District of Columbia istia of the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. special federal district and does not elect voting reprNot because the D.C. school system spends nearly \$30,000 sentatives or senators. This meant that America wasannually per pupil while 83 percent of its students are still deprived of a Congressman Marion Barry, a fact that inot- proficient in reading, or because Washington now explicably upsets many of the 600,000 or so people whomk as the most congested metropolitan area in the live in the city. United States, but rather because the Constitution denies

A few years back, President Barack Obama made conD.C. residents the ability to participate in congressional mon cause with the D.C.-voting-rights campaign bylegislating. Critics of this arrangement claim that America using Washington's AXTION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION is the “only democracy in the entire world” where the resi- license plates on all presidential limousines. Surely hidents of the capital have no say in national lawmaking. support had absolutely nothing to do with the fact thaEveryone else says, Thank God.

Democrats would be the undoubted beneficiaries of vot- “I would like to do whatever's good for the District of ing representation for D.C. No, the president argued thColumbia” is the kind of thing a construction magnate after living in the city for a number of years, he'd build building a \$200 million hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue nessed “firsthand how patently unfair it is for workingmight say to appease local government. So Trump says it. families in D.C. to work hard, raise children, and pay taxThe good news is that, like almost every audacious without having a vote in Congress.” promise made by the nation's messianic populist of the moment, the decision to grant Washington voting rights would not fall under his purview.

Mr. Harsanyi is a senior editor of *the Federalist*.

NR



TEXSTAR  
GOLD & SILVER  
EXCHANGE

# BUY GOVERNMENT ISSUED GOLD & SILVER

\$117.98  
EACH AT COST\*



**FINAL RELEASE**  
DON'T MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY

**CALL US TODAY**

**1-855-788-3959**



**AVC CODE : NR907-117**

**ASK ABOUT OUR FREE GOLD OFFER**

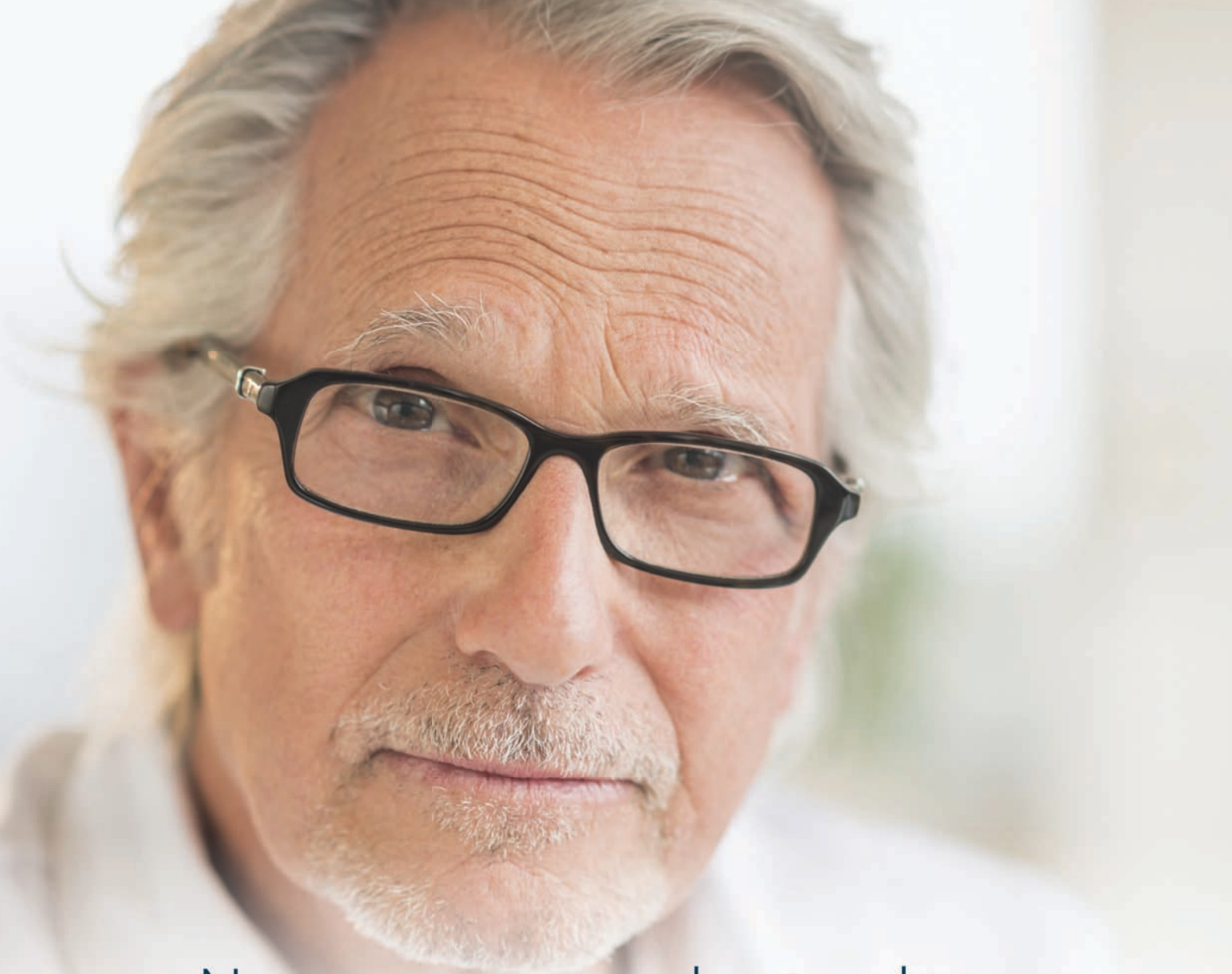
**EXCLUSIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ORDERS OF \$10,000 OR MORE**

representatives available 24/7



\*PRICE IS FOR THE \$5.00 GOLD AMERICAN EAGLE. SILVER AMERICAN EAGLE IS PRICED AT \$17.48  
BOTH LIMITED 10 PER HOUSEHOLD. SHIPPING & HANDLING \$25. ALL MAJOR CREDIT CARDS & CHECKS ACCEPTED.





Not everyone understands my  
**commitment** to liberty.

---

**DonorsTrust gets it.**

Sometimes I feel like the only one willing to speak up for the principles of limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise. DonorsTrust understands my commitment to liberty and makes it easy for me to support organizations doing the hard work of preserving our freedoms. To learn how DonorsTrust can help you too, call them or visit [donorstrust.org/commitment](https://donorstrust.org/commitment).

**DonorsTrust**

BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

---

DT Philanthropic Services • 703-535-3563 • [www.donorstrust.org](https://www.donorstrust.org)